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3. THE IRISH FRANCISCANS IN THE SERVICE OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF PRAGUE (1636–1692)

"Happy are you, Irishmen, whom Ireland bore as a mother and as a step-mother sundered: you, who suffer persecution for the sake of justice, are blessed by the voice of truth, and yours is the Kingdom of Heaven! Happy are you, who are banished by your own land and accepted by a foreign one: that land, overcome by a new plague inimical to your integrity, deserved not your presence! Happy are you, who through the imitation of St. Patrick and the example of Christ become righteous! Let us rather believe that it happened at the instigation of Providence itself, to lead you into these regions which will be fired with the innate ardour of your piety, and that it will bring a new benefit when that which was hidden, or at least enclosed, within Ireland, scholarship, endurance and virtue, will now win you, who are scattered around the world, eternal glory and good reputation."

With these words Hugo Teiser, a Premonstratensian from the Strahov monastery, addressed the Irish Franciscans assembled in the College of the Immaculate Conception on the Feast of St. Patrick, 17 March 1637. It was no accident that the Irish invited, as a renowned preacher, Teiser himself. In his time, Teiser became so famous for his eloquence that he became Professor of Rhetoric in the recently opened archiepiscopal seminary. Equally, Teiser's eulogising the Irish presence in Bohemia was no accident, even though his audience would have forgiven his polished address being somewhat exaggerated, they may indeed have expected it.[1]

For that matter, most of those present were, perhaps, aware of the situation. Not quite two years before, after all the delays caused by the Saxon invasion, regular tuition had finally begun in the seminary established by Archbishop Harrach. There were, however, very few experienced and, in particular, theologically knowledgeable men who could ensure the high quality education of priests, secular and regular. Admittedly, the Strahov Premonstratensians did try, but their strength was only sufficient to provide tuition in classes for minor seminarians. A single Premonstratensian, Alexius Perelcius, taught morality in the archiepiscopal seminary in the years 1637 to 1638. In 1630, he had himself attended lectures in philosophy by Charles

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Grobendonque at the Faculty of Arts in Prague, and then in the years 1633 to 1634 he had continued in his study of theology in Olomouc, where he defended his thesis in philosophy.[2] Hugo Teiser had also studied philosophy in Olomouc but only completed his theological education in 1637 at the archiepiscopal seminary in Prague. When he preached to the Irish about St. Patrick, he was not yet a priest.[3] Other colleagues of theirs, who later, in the 1640s, taught in classes for minor seminarians, were in no better position. Bruno Lindtner and Bernard Sutor (Schuster) themselves continued in their study of philosophy, or rather theology, at the archiepiscopal seminary. Václav Želivský, who replaced Sutor, was only ordained priest in 1640 and Kašpar Falco, entrusted in 1640 with the tuition of the youngest pupils, only as late as 1643. In addition, the Premonstratensians in Prague's Old Town did not have their own accommodation: the better informed among the listeners to Teiser's sermon may have known that, less than a fortnight before, the Abbot of Strahov monastery, Kaspar Questenberg, had signed a contract with the builder Melchior Meer for the construction of a college by the Chapel of St. Benedict. The building site was not far from the archiepiscopal seminary and for all that Questenberg valued the advantageous location of the future institute of learning, he clearly did not enjoy recollecting the circumstances in which a delapidated church and the area around it had been exchanged for the Church of St. Nicholas and the adjacent parish in Prague's Old Town.[4]

The Cistercians, another of the orders on which the archbishop relied, were in an even worse position. At the provincial chapter of 1616, they had resolved to send a certain number of students to Prague, but until the 1630s they could, understandably, only send them to Jesuit schools. Clearly, the then Abbot of Zbraslav and vicar general, Johann Greifenfels of Pilsenburg, was filled with enthusiasm by his friend, Abbot Questenberg, so that, as early as 1635, Cistercian monks began to study at the seminary. With Questenberg's support, in September 1637, Greifenfels finally bought a house not far from the archiepiscopal seminary, which was to serve as a Cistercian college. For the time being, however, there was no question of them being able to provide their own teachers.[5]

The situation was the same with the Benedictine monasteries. The day before the Feast of St. Patrick, the Břevnov provost, Šimon Chlodomasteus, appealed, not for the first time, to the Bohemian Chamber for a financial contribution for repairs to the monastery which had been plundered several times. The war had likewise damaged Broumov and in 1637 it was still feeling the aftereffects of famine and an epidemic of the plague, but at least things looked hopeful for the community there because of their numbers: in 1632, twenty-six monks had fled

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before the Saxon army. The economies of other Benedictine monasteries (Svatý Jan pod Skalou, Sázava, Kladruby and the Emmaus community which had recently moved to Prague's Old Town) were mostly in ruins and this was accurately reflected in the number of members. Any great activity in education seemed to be rather a luxury, necessary in the long term but at that time hardly achievable.[6]

It was clear, then, that if the archiepiscopal seminary was to become a worthy counterpart to the Jesuit schools, teachers would need to be found elsewhere. Within the mendicant orders, the Minorite college, Ferdinandeum, by the friary in Prague's Old Town, was of interest, but that served the internal needs of the order. We do not know whether the archbishop appealed to the Dominicans and Franciscans for assistance, but clearly this was hindered by the unconsolidated state of the Bohemian monasteries and the associated impossibility of providing qualified teachers from their own ranks.[7]

THE SEMINARY OF ARCHBISHOP HARRACH

The best solution in the mid-1630s was to fill, temporarily, the teaching posts with Irish Franciscans. This evidently also accorded with the archbishop's other aims. The somewhat delayed opening of the seminary admittedly fulfilled the decree of the Council of Trent, but its foundation was connected with specific Prague conditions, in particular with Archbishop Harrach's dispute with the Jesuits over the university and his attempt to weaken their monopoly of higher education.[8] The teaching by Franciscans in the spirit of Duns Scotus was the corresponding intellectual counterpart to institutional independence. The Franciscans did not hesitate to send certain talented and promising members of the order (such as Patrick Fleming) who had gained an education in the order's colleges in Rome and Louvain to their own college which was to exclusively serve the education of future missionaries The unfortunate events of 1631 did not weaken the college's calling for long.[9] We do not know the details of the discussions over the teaching posts, but they clearly took place even before the Saxon invasion. Among the first teachers to arrive at the archiepiscopal seminary in the mid-1630s were Malachy Fallon, Patrick Warde, Francis Fleming, Francis Farrell, Edward Tyrell and Bernardine Cavoc.[10] It was to these men in particular that the words of Teiser's sermon were addressed (Fig. 13).

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Archbishop Harrach paid considerable attention to the college: in June and August of 1638, after ceremonial disputations in the seminary, he enjoyed a meal in the college[11] and he regularly joined in celebrations connected to the college such as St. Patrick's Day and the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. On St. Patrick's Day in 1654, Jan Caramuel of Lobkovice preached in the church,[12] on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1657, Leopold I, King of Bohemia, joined the Mass and a banquet afterwards.[13] During one of his visits to Rome in 1637, Cardinal Harrach also visited St. Isidore's College and devoted considerable space to it in his diary (Fig. 14).[14]

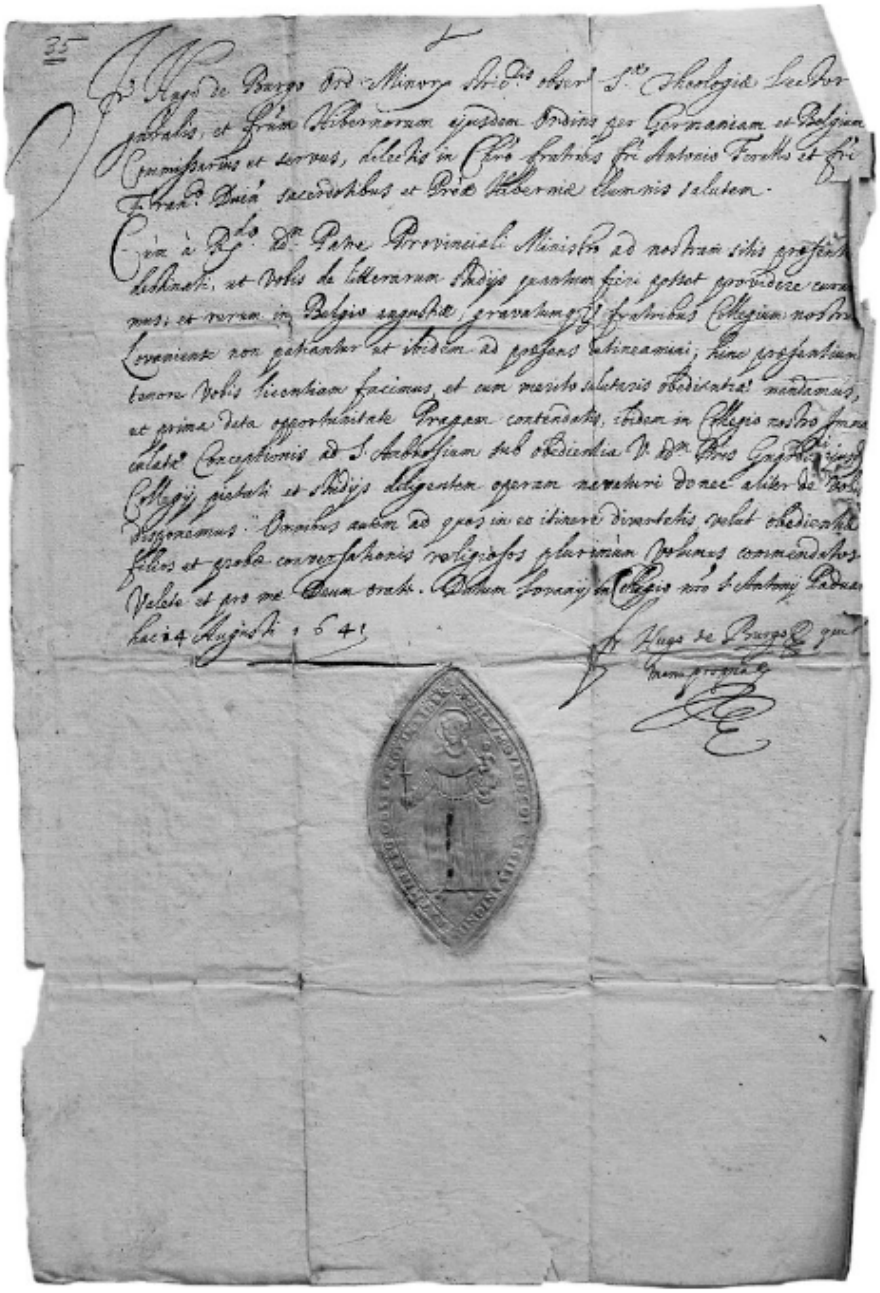

Fig. 13 Hugh Burke, lector general in theology, sends Anthony Farrell and Francis Duin to the Irish Franciscan college in Prague, 14 August 1641 (NA).

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Fig. 14 Ernest Adalbert, Cardinal Harrach, Archbishop of Prague. Engraving, Prague 1646 (SK).

Malachy Fallon, was, as mentioned above, one of the founders of the Prague college. He gained teaching experience partly in Rouen (possibly at the Franciscan *studium*) where he was Professor of Philosophy, then later as Professor of Theology at St. Anthony's College in Louvain. By virtue of these qualifications, he was appointed *professor primarius* in theology at the archiepiscopal seminary and finally, on 28 August 1637, he was named *lector jubilatus* by the general of the order, Juan de Campaña.[15] The zeal in his relations with the newly founded seminary brought him two appointments as superior of the seminary, which were not, however, free of bitterness and disputes.[16] In 1641, his lectures at the seminary became the focus of attention of the noted Jesuit philosopher and theologian, Roderigo Arriaga, who perceived them to be inspired by the opinions of Cornelius Jansen, whose works at that time were causing considerable controversy. The Jesuits in Louvain, who were among the first to oppose Jansen and who obtained Arriaga's opinion, concluded that measures should be taken against Fallon, but that this should be done by someone from an order other than the Jesuits. In the Bohemian Crown Lands, however, there was no suitably qualified theologian.[17] The accusation of preaching the "Jansenist error" against the then deceased Fallon (he had died on 9 January 1651) was also contained in the anonymous pro-Jesuit tract *Idea gubernationis ecclesiasticae*, which

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most probably originated in 1653 and blamed the Capuchins, Basilius d'Aire and Valeriano Magni for the fact that the Departments of Theology and Philosophy at the archiepiscopal seminary (regarded by the author of the tract as a very dubious institution, whose foundation and functioning was not guided by the precepts of the Council of Trent) *"had been entrusted to some foreign friars from Ireland and the former* [the Department of Theology] *at one time to a certain Brother Malachy, infected by heresy and by Jansenist errors, which is clear from his public lectures."*[18]

Another of the notable friars who passed through both the college and the seminary was Francis Farrell. Born in Ireland in the diocese of Ardagh in 1597, after entering the order he studied theology at the Louvain college and in 1625 was ordained priest in Brussels. In 1632, he stayed for a while in Salzburg, where he taught at the Franciscan *studium.* At the beginning of June 1633, he arrived at the Prague college as a lector in theology and later taught both theology and philosophy at the seminary. He was appointed *lector jubilatus.* In 1644 to 1645, he returned to Ireland where he was appointed guardian in various friaries in turn (Enniscorthy, Multyfarnham and Ballinasaggart), and in 1655 he became provincial. He died in 1663.[19]

We have a great deal less information on the others. According to the register of 1697, John Barnawall, teacher of philosophy and theology in the archiepiscopal seminary and *lector jubilatus*, became provincial. Francis Harold also attained the higher offices of the order.[20] In the 1697 register, Patrick Warde the Elder is shown as a long-serving teacher of philosophy and theology and *lector jubilatus.* It can be inferred that he spent many years in Prague.[21] Francis Fleming is mentioned only as *philosophiae & theologiae lector emeritus*, as is Bernardine Cavoc. Anthony Gavan became an apostolic missionary in Ireland. Francis Warde arrived in Prague from Louvain in the autumn of 1640 and that same year began to teach philosophy. In the registers of the first half of the 1650s, which were published by Millett, Warde's name, like the three other above-mentioned names, is missing.[22] *Lector jubilatus* Louis Cooney (Connaeus) twice taught the philosophy course at the archiepiscopal seminary and also taught theology at the Franciscan Friary of Our Lady of the Snows, where he was assigned as lector in philosophy as early as 1644. He died on 14 April 1652, and was buried at the College of the Immaculate Conception.[23] Edward Tyrell, also *lector jubilatus*, reportedly taught theology in the seminary for four years, although he had previously served as guardian of the college.[24] At the beginning of the second half of the seventeenth century, Maurice Conry, author of the work on persecution in Ireland *Threnodia hiberno-catholica* and of an Irish dictionary, also taught in Prague.[25]

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At this point, it should be mentioned that the seventeenth century was a period of intellectual rise for the Irish Franciscans when many respectable historiographical and theological works were created in the continental colleges. A special role was played by the Louvain college which became a centre of Irish historiography and hagiology shortly after its foundation. The Annals of the Four Masters, a fundamental work on Irish history, originated there in 1626 to 1636 with the support of the Irish Franciscans. The main purpose of compiling the Annals was to record and preserve legends about Irish saints.[26]

At the centre of the Franciscans' plans to process Irish hagiography were Hugh Ward and Patrick Fleming, whose violent death in Bohemia was described above. After Ward's death in 1635, responsibility for the project was taken over by John Colgan and Mícheál Ó Cléirigh (died 1643). Unfortunately, even Colgan did not manage to complete the original idea and only the first of four planned volumes of *Acta sanctorum Hiberniae* was printed. Colgan's next work, *Triadis Thaumaturgae* is dedicated to the trinity of great Irish saints: Patrick, Brigitta, and Colum Cille.[27]

The renowned historian Luke Wadding was also an Irish Franciscan theologian. It was precisely this aspect of scholarly activity of the Irish Franciscans that was most important from Cardinal Harrach's point of view. As well as Wadding, who was also the editor of John Duns Scotus's works, the most significant names in Irish Franciscan theology of the first three quarters of the seventeenth century were Florence Conry, Hugh Cavell, Anthony Hickey, John Punch and Bonaventure Baron. The activities of these men connected colleges in Salamanca, Louvain, Rome and Prague.[28] The role of Prague college members in preserving and studying the Irish language and literature has been underestimated by Czech researchers to date.[29]

War affected the running of the archiepiscopal seminary, as it doubtless also affected life in numerous expanding colleges.[30] Moreover, the Emperor intervened in the dispute of 1641 to 1642 with the archbishop, which had begun with a dispute over the university, by decreeing that the seminary, despite all written papal privileges, could serve only as a private school.[31] This dispute also affected the Irish Franciscans. That is, at the end of November 1641, the seminary, together with Norbertinum, was occupied by the military and the supreme burgrave, Jaroslav Bořita, Count of Martinice forbad the Irish professors to teach at the seminary. As with the dispute with the Capuchins during the building of the college, the Irish found themselves caught between two sides and it was not advisable to become enemies of either. The archbishop was not happy that they had retired into seclusion and stopped teaching, and tried by repeated appeals to

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persuade them to resume teaching as quickly as possible. For fear of angering the Emperor, the Irish Franciscans discussed Harrach's appeals with the burgrave, who understandably rejected them. The Irish even submitted a memorandum to the Emperor, but instead of a clear answer they received a recommendation to wait until the matter had been investigated. Increasing pressure from the burgrave persuaded the Irish to adopt an openly "pro-Harrach" position in 1642, and when the situation had quietened down somewhat, they returned to the seminary.[32]

Not until the beginning of the 1650s was there the promise of longer term uninterrupted development, but this was when the first more serious dispute with the archbishop occurred. Its roots lay deep in the not entirely clarified institutional relations between the college and the Irish province.

In September 1647, Patrick Taaffe was elected guardian of the college at the provincial chapter in Rosserilly. This was clearly contrary to the statutes of the college. It was customary, as evidenced by the wording of these, that before the expiry of the term of office of the current guardian, the discreets would choose several suitable candidates and the general of the order would choose the new guardian from among them.[33] When the news reached Prague, it caused considerable astonishment in the college because the guardian of the college had, from the same year, been Bernardine Clancy, appointed according to custom by the general of the order. Clancy was from Munster, so he was supported by his fellow countrymen from Munster and, in particular, by two priests, Daniel Bruoder and Francis Harold; Taaffe was supported by his fellow countrymen from Ulster, among whom were the vicar, Magennis, and a number of lectors in philosophy. The two opposing factions were distinguished by their differing opinions as to whether the college should be subordinate to a commissary general (as Clancy wanted) or to a special commissary for the colleges. This confused situation lasted two years. Only at the beginning of 1650 did the general of the order, Daniel a Dongo, place the college under his direct authority and, at the same time, permit the new guardian to be chosen at the following provincial chapter in Ireland. In view of the fact that Clancy's term of office had just expired, this decision helped to calm the situation.[34]

This did not last long, however, because in the summer of 1650 the discretorium of the college set the members of the college and the wider community against each other with a request sent to the superiors of the Irish province that, out of the eight lectors, Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Connaught should each have one lector in philosophy and one lector in theology. It is probable that this measure was to be a means of personnel changes among the teachers at the archiepiscopal seminary (including both of Clancy's supporters and, from 1650, Clancy himself)

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and we can then guess how it was connected with Clancy and his adherents. These plans met with the displeasure both of the Irish Franciscans and Archbishop Harrach and resulted in a special visitation of the college being ordered in September 1650. The visitation took place in November and the visitator, Paul de Tauris, former provincial of the Hungarian province, who was charged with negotiating with Archbishop Harrach over the filling of professorial posts in the seminary and, at the same time, settling the disputes in the community, managed to bring matters to a successful conclusion. Clancy was named a discreet and continued to teach as a lector in both the college and the seminary; Malachy Fallon, as praeses, became temporary head of the college until the arrival of a new guardian.[35] Harrach's displeasure was most likely caused by the fact that the composition of the teaching staff had been influenced by a decision by the superiors of the College of the Immaculate Conception. It is possible to interpret the appointment of three teachers from the Minorite Friary of St. James in Prague's Old Town, namely Bonaventura a Leodio to teach philosophy and Laurentius Fabri and Martius Coriolanus to teach theology, at the beginning of the 1650/1651 school year, as a possible reaction to the situation among the Irish Franciscans.[36]

The peace which was established during the visitation of Paul de Tauris was, however, very short-lived. At the end of December, the news reached Prague that an Ulsterman, Philip O' Reilly, had become the new guardian and not someone from Connaught as had been requested and which would have been in accord with the rotation of offices and functions within the college among the natives of the individual Irish provinces. Also, an Ulsterman, John Colgan, who was incidentally the translator of St. Francis de Sales into Irish,[37] was named commissary for the colleges in Prague, Wieluń and Louvain. Fallon, in particular, received the news with distaste. He immediately complained to the general of the order and Paul de Tauris, but before it came to a dispute between him and the new guardian, Fallon died.[38]

Another measure should have affected the teachers of theology at the archiepiscopal seminary, Bernardine Clancy and Anthony Donnelly. According to the agreement between the commissary, Colgan, and the discreets of the college, they should have been replaced by Bernardine Higgins and Anthony Farrell at the beginning of 1652. Bernardine Clancy, who clearly had reason to be sensitive to changes affecting himself, left Prague at the end of September 1651 with Colgan's permission to undertake a pilgrimage to Loreto, stopping in Vienna where Archbishop Harrach also happened to be. Harrach insisted on Clancy remaining at the seminary because he did not want teachers who had admittedly proved themselves in the teaching of philosophy but had as yet no experience with theology. The new guardian, O'Reilly,

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however, regarded this demand as impossible. If implemented, it would, in his opinion, have led to unrest in the college. The archbishop, however, was not particularly interested in internal disputes in the college and was determined not to lower academic standards at the seminary, which could, in his opinion, have happened if he had given up Clancy and Donnelly.

The archbishop evidently objected to the arrogance with which the superiors of the college manipulated the composition of the teaching staff at his institution. In his letters to Harrach, O' Reilly made clear his self-importance as the leading representative of the college; the question is, however, whether such behaviour in relation to his dealings with a person of the archbishop's standing and connections was sufficiently prudent. Millett details Harrach's attempts to find teachers among Irish Franciscan circles independent of the Prague college: he wanted Bernard Fallon from Louvain, but because this was not possible, he turned to Anthony Bruodin (then a member of the Bohemian Franciscan province). More significantly, however, was that in November, Hilger Burghof, a Cistercian from the Austrian monastery in Lilienfeld and superior of the Cistercian college, Bernardinum, began to teach philosophy.[39] His arrival meant not only more interference with the Franciscan teaching staff but also a dogmatic divergence from the previous teaching in the spirit of Scotism, the extent of which it is possible to understand from the comment by the Premonstratensians that when, following his election as Abbot of Sedlec in 1654, Burghof resigned from his teaching post and was replaced by Bonaventure Bruodin, who changed the conception of his predecessor according to Scotism, *"it was to the detriment and confusion of the pupils' thoughts."*[40] Indeed, the view of secular observers was that Burghof's arrival at the seminary was the cause of the split between the archbishop and the Irish Franciscans, most certainly not its likely result, which is evidenced by the annals of the Premonstratensian college, Norbertinum. The true cause was the too great claims the Irish Franciscans made on the teaching posts, or on how they were managed; in this version, however, their behaviour was unequivocally provoked by Burghof's arrival. When the archbishop recognised Clancy's innocence in the matter, he did not prevent him or his colleague, Bonaventure Bruodin, from teaching at the seminary. However, to protect them against the insinuations of their confrères, he allowed them to live away from the Irish college, first with the Emmaus Benedictines and later, when the weather worsened and attendance at the seminary became difficult, with the Franciscans at Our Lady of the Snows.[41]

Reality, of course, was more complex. When Clancy returned from his pilgrimage, O'Reilly confined him to the college. Harrach gave Clancy his full support and made his decision known in letters sent to the leading representatives of the order and the Irish province – to the general,

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Pedro Manero, Wadding and Colgan. In the middle of December, the general of the order sent the archbishop the necessary obediences for Clancy and Donnelly so that they could remain at the seminary, but the guardian, supported by a majority of the discreets, maintained his position. At the beginning of 1652, Bernardine Clancy had to leave the Irish college and live at Our Lady of the Snows (it is difficult to say when he lived with the Benedictines) and with him went Bonaventure Bruodin, another teacher at the archiepiscopal seminary. Anthony Donnelly remained in the college and discontinued his lectures at the seminary.[42]

Unfortunately, it was likely that while O'Reilly remained guardian, prospects of a peaceful resolution were poor. This was also the opinion of Clancy and Bruodin. The dispute, however, helped the Bohemian and Moravian monastic communities whose members were studying at the archiepiscopal seminary, especially the Cistercians and Premontratensians, with whom Harrach made an agreement in the autumn of 1652 confirming and clarifying their part in tuition at the seminary. The teaching staff was also increased by Benedictines and Franciscans of the Bohemian province.[43] Even a change of guardian made no marked difference. In October 1656, when the college, led by the guardian, Anthony Connor (Conorus), and the commissary, Anthony Daly, appealed for the return of the Irish Franciscans to the archiepiscopal seminary, Harrach replied politely but firmly that all the teaching posts were taken and that it would be nonsensical to duplicate them.[44] From the record of student lectures, it is nevertheless clear that the seminary did not go without lectures by the Irish Franciscans and, apart from the two "deserters", others also taught in that tense period, possibly even in the school year just before the submission of the appeal.[45] From the viewpoint of the Irish Franciscans, a complete return to the teaching posts was impossible so long as Fathers Clancy and Bruodin remained outside the college and thus demonstrated continued disunity and division. The burden of finding a solution rested with the commissary, Anthony Daly, who achieved partial success in the autumn of 1657. Bernardine Clancy expressed his willingness to return to the College of the Immaculate Conception, provided that the archbishop raised no objection to this and that he would not be accused of disobedience by his superiors. Bonaventure Bruodin clearly had no great wish to return. Later, his transfer to the Bohemian province was discussed, with the involvement of Anthony Bruodin. The extension of both Franciscans' stay outside the college was most likely the result of a lack of trust; namely Bruodin's and Clancy's misgivings as to whether their return to the college would happen without measures being taken against the "malefactors" and Harrach's demand for a guarantee that the situation of 1650 to 1651 would not be repeated. The distrust of the "apostates" was finally exorcised by the pronouncement by the commissary,

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Bernardine Barry, in August 1659, in which their departure was judged to be just and legitimate, they were absolved of all accusations of apostasy from their own college and also expressed their gratitude to the Franciscans who had protected them. Not long afterwards, Clancy did return to the college.[46] His exoneration before his confrères culminated the following year, when he became guardian of the college.[47] Bonaventure Bruodin, who was not in the best of health, received permission to return to Ireland.[48]

During the same period, through his intermediary, Father Basilius d'Aire, Harrach also negotiated his own conditions.[49] The declaration by the general of the order, Michaelangelo de Sambuca, on 10 January 1660, to some extent sidelined both parties because the right to appoint or dismiss Irish professors at the archiepiscopal seminary would henceforth appertain only to the general of the order and his successor. Teachers at the seminary should enjoy all the privileges which were customary among Franciscans in the Irish province, but, at the same time, all scholastic lectures (*lectiones scholasticae*) which were provided at the archiepiscopal seminary were forbidden in the college, with the exception of tuition in morality and pastoral theology. In this way, study was centralised. In the summer of the same year, Anthony Farrell (Fig. 15) was appointed to replace Clancy and he was guardian of the college for the next three years.[50] In June 1661 in Valladolid, the general chapter also revised the appointment of the guardian, who would be selected by the general of the order from the candidates nominated by the discreets.

The ruling that lectors be appointed by the general of the order was also inserted into the statutes of the college, which were approved there in 1665, having been previously approved by the general.[51] There is no mention in the statutes of tuition at the archiepiscopal seminary, but if the ruling that students must take the greater part of their study programme at the seminary and that further studies at the college were unnecessary was observed, then the article in the statutes devoted to lectors related entirely to teachers at the archiepiscopal seminary and so it was pointless making any distinction between them. Lectors were obliged to participate twice a year in a public disputation with printed thesis, to adhere faithfully to the teachings of John Duns Scotus, to take a two-year course in philosophy before receiving a credit in the field of teaching and, so as to prevent friction between the natives of the four Irish provinces, to maintain the principle of proportionality within the teaching staff.[52] The whole dispute, which reveals the fragile balance within the college, however, was a boon to the Cistercians and the Premonstratensians, the two main supporters of the archiepiscopal seminary, on whose young people and their education the Irish had a great influence. Although there were few teachers

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from these two orders in the seminary in the 1650s, they first began to appear more regularly during the 1660s, and they would clearly have found it more difficult to establish themselves if the Irish Franciscans had displayed reliability and unity.[53] At the same time, members of other religious orders had the opportunity to assert themselves as teachers of future secular and regular clergy.

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Fig. 15 The title page of the recorded lectures of Anthony Farrell. Engraved cartouche by Cornelis Galle, written inscription by the learner, 1662–1664 (SK).

The Irish Franciscan teachers whose work was in some way stigmatised by the division belonged, in comparison with Fallon, Cooney or Francis Farrell, to another generation. As individuals, they met with very different fates. In the end, Bernardine Clancy taught for twenty-seven years at the archiepiscopal seminary and became guardian of the college for the second

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time in August 1673. He died on 5 May 1684, apparently at the age of seventy-two.[54] Bonaventure Bruodin, cousin of the well-known Anthony Bruodin who will be mentioned again later, returned to Ireland precisely when the province was divided by the efforts of Peter Walsh. In the wake of the Cromwellian terror, James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, was attempting to moderate the government's approach to Catholics. In return, of course, Catholics were to recognise the supremacy of the state and renounce the papal right to depose the head of state.[55] Peter Walsh fully supported these attempts while Bruodin, who had returned from exile, used all his influence to prevent them and to restore peace in the volatile conditions of the province. Consequently, Bruodin was imprisoned in Dublin and, as a result of his imprisonment, died there in 1671. His name was also entered into the necrology of the Bohemian province.[56] Among the other long-serving teachers at the archiepiscopal seminary were *lector jubilatus* Anthony Donnelly (died 20 May 1682) and Anthony Farrell, also *lector jubilatus* (died 12 January 1681), both of whom served as guardian.[57] In about 1664, another teacher at the seminary, Bonaventure O'Connor Kerry, published his work *Iubilaeum iubilum, portiunculae seraphicae* in Prague.[58]

It is clear from the above that the Irish Franciscans studied mainly at the archiepiscopal seminary. The above-mentioned printed register shows more than forty students, but it is probably not complete because when the register was being compiled, relations between the seminary and the college were much looser. Higher positions were gained by James Taaffe, who became the papal nuncio for Ireland, Anthony MacGeoghegan, who became the Bishop of Clonmacnoise (1647–1657) and the Bishop of Meath (1657–1664),[59] Anthony O'Neill, who served in various offices of the order (*inter alia*, he was guardian in Armagh several times), Bonaventure Burke, who was active in the Holy Land,[60] Francis Connor, who was shown as *guardianus Romanus* (at St. Isidore's College), James Coghlan, later guardian at the Prague college and teacher at the Benedictine monastery in Kladruby, Louis MacNamara, who was also guardian in Prague and, from the younger generation, Francis O'Devlin, who served at the Cistercian monastery in Waldsassen (Fig. 16).

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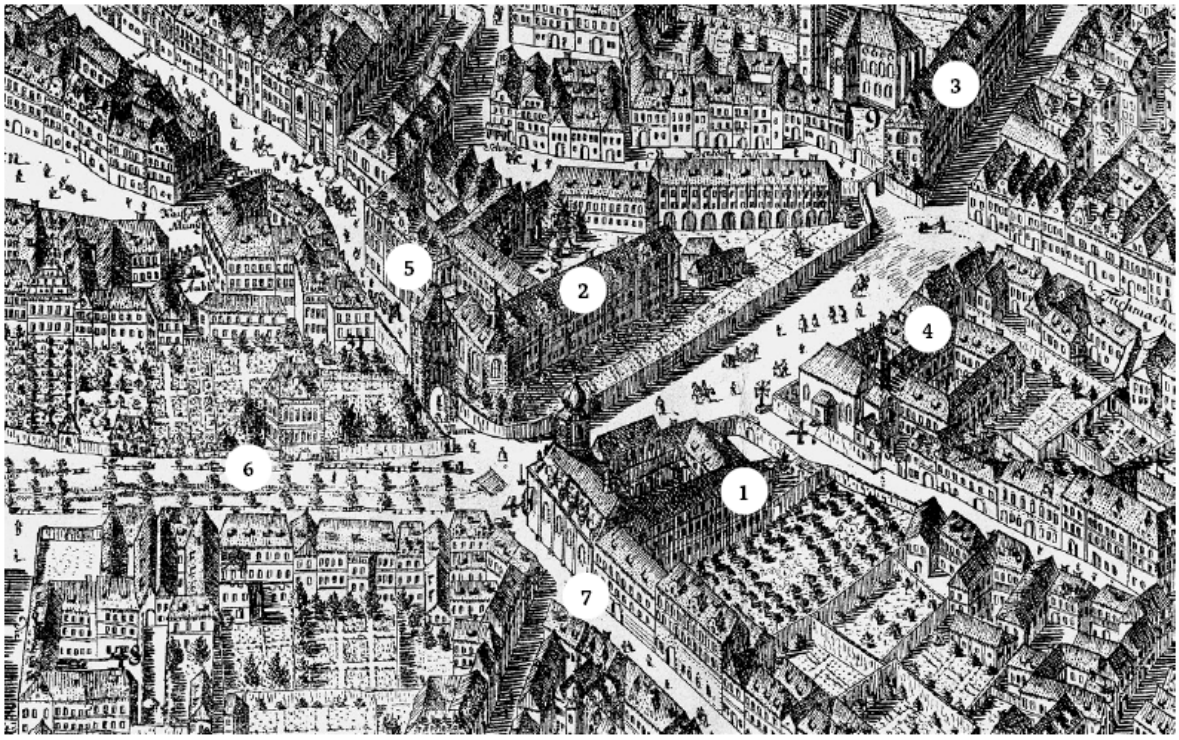

Fig. 16 A section of Huber's plan of Prague, which depicts the Irish Franciscan college and its vicinity in the year 1769 (Facsimile copy, *Obraz barokní Prahy*, ed. by J. Hofman, Prague 1944). 1. Irish Franciscan college; 2. Archiepiscopal seminary; 3. Premonstratensian college of Norbertinum; 4. Capuchin friary; 5. Powder Gate; 6. Na Příkopě street; 7. Hybernská street

ANTHONY BRUODIN: THE DOUBLE EXILE OF THE SCOTIST SCHOLAR

The most significant figure, however, among the Irish Franciscans in the third quarter of the seventeenth century was unquestionably Anthony Bruodin, despite the fact that he is connected with the Bohemian rather than the Irish province. By his own account, he arrived in Prague on 25 May 1650,[61] accompanied by John Brady, to fulfil the teaching duties of Louis Cooney, whose strength was declining while the number of young students was increasing. He clearly had a somewhat antagonistic nature; according to McGrath, *"he was known for his lack of tact and blunt expression,"* but he was definitely very able. The reasons for his transfer to the Bohemian province are not at all clear. Together with another Irishman, Peter Lorcan, he was incorporated into the Bohemian province in November 1651.[62] Soon afterwards, he was sent to Olomouc to teach philosophy and then, for the same reason, to the friary in Jindřichův Hradec. In 1654, he returned to Prague to teach in place of his colleagues from the Irish province, Bernardine Clancy and Bonaventure Bruodin. Later, he also began to teach at the archiepiscopal seminary, where, by his own account, he worked for six years. At the provincial chapter in

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Jindřichův Hradec in 1659 he was elected definitor, and then from 1663 he was guardian at the Friary of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary in Olomouc (Fig. 17; Fig. 18). As guardian, he attended the general chapter in Rome, and, in the Ara Coeli Friary, he presided over the disputation at which Vilém Antonín Brouček, later provincial, defended his thesis. When he was in Rome for the second time in 1667 for a disputation, he met Bernard Sannig. After his term of office in Olomouc ended, he devoted himself to teaching until April 1668, when he became guardian at Our Lady of the Snows in Prague. During his term of office, he had some improvements made (the construction of a larger dormitory and a pharmacy), he had the cloister decorated with pictures, supplied the library with books and the sacristy with vestments. In 1671, he was sent to Hostinné, where a friary had been established in 1666. Because of the difficulties caused by a poorly selected site, he decided to start building on another, more suitable one. He spent fifteen months there, before being elected guardian at Jindřichův Hradec, where, again by his own account, he improved the friary in every way until 1674. In addition, he made visitations to friaries in Poland and, in late 1674 and early 1675, he attended to the business of the order in Vienna. At that time, Bruodin was at the height of his powers and his career. His functions enabled him to interfere in the life and administration of the province and also became the cause of his downfall.

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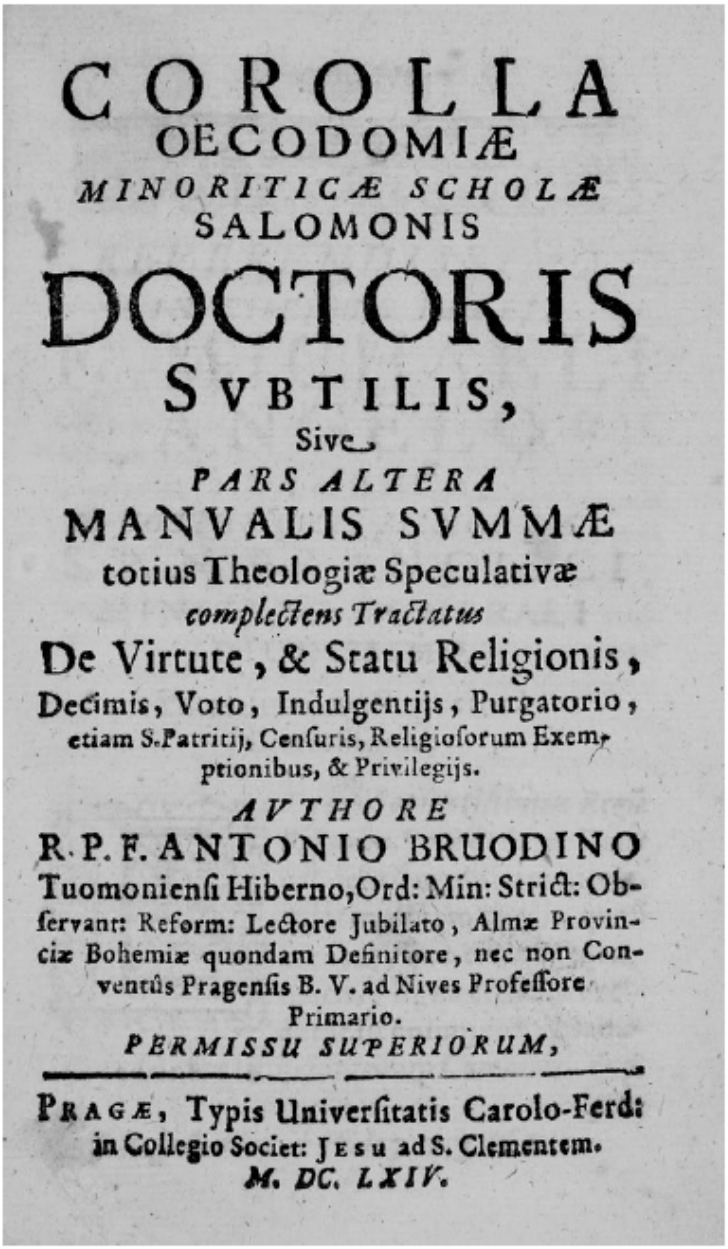

COROLLA
OECODOMIÆ
MINORITICÆ SCHOLÆ
SALOMONIS
DOCTORIS
SVBTILIS,
Sive
PARS ALTERA
MANVALIS SVMMÆ
totius Theologiæ Speculativæ
complectens Tractatus
De Virtute, & Statu Religionis,
Decimis, Voto, Indulgentijs, Purgatorio,
etiam S. Patritij, Censuris, Religiosorum Exemptionibus, & Privilegijs.
AVTHORE
R. P. F. ANTONIO BRUODINO
Tuomonienſi Hiberno, Ord: Min: Strict: Obſervant: Reform: Lectore Jubilato, Almæ Provinciæ Bohemiæ quondam Definitore, nec non Conventûs Pragenſis B. V. ad Nives Profeſſore Primario.
PERMISSU SUPERIORUM,
PRAGÆ, Typis Univerſitatis Carolo-Ferd: in Collegio Societ: JESU ad S. Clementem.
M. DC. LXIV.

Fig. 17 The title page of *Corolla oecodomiae* by Anthony Bruodin. Prague, 1664 (SK).

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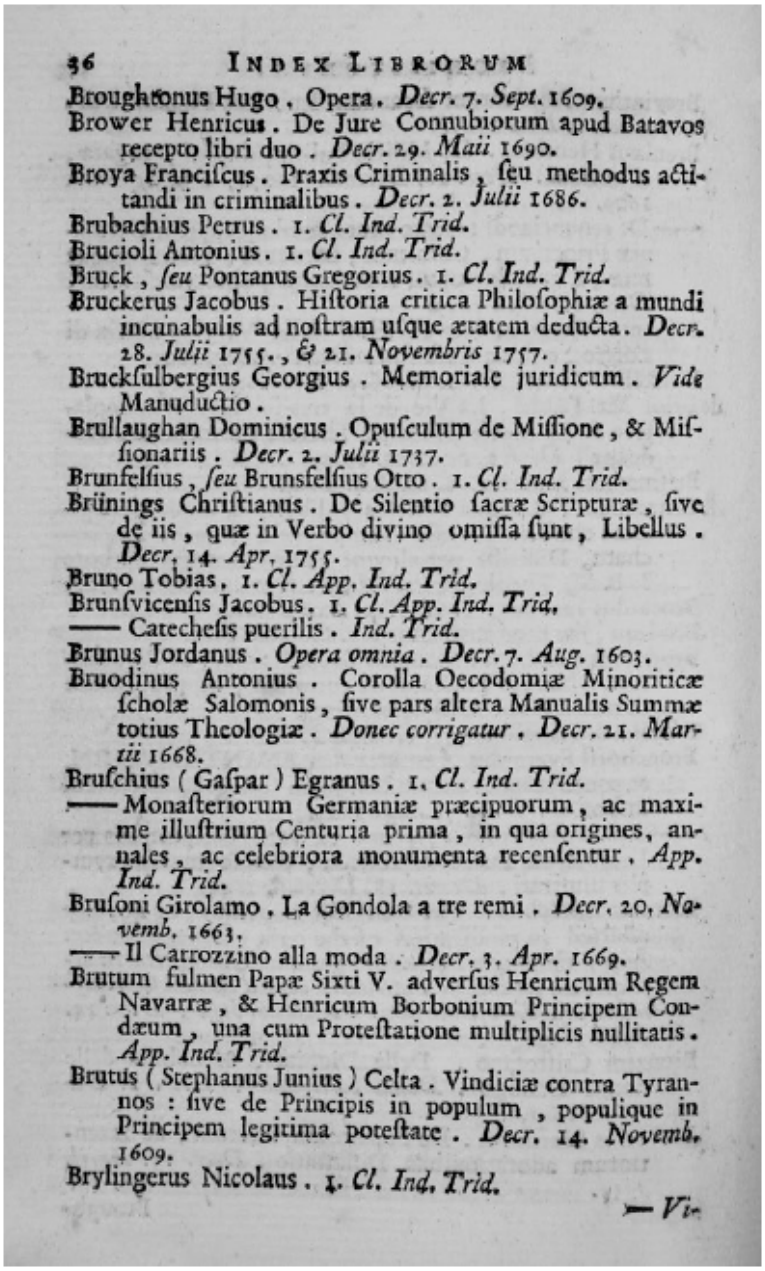

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Broughtonus Hugo, Opera. *Decr.* 7. *Sept.* 1609.
Brower Henricus. De Jure Connubiorum apud Batavos recepto libri duo. *Decr.* 29. *Maii* 1690.
Broya Franciſcus. Praxis Criminalis, ſeu methodus actitandi in criminalibus. *Decr.* 2. *Julii* 1686.
Brubachius Petrus. 1. *Cl. Ind. Trid.*
Brucioli Antonius. 1. *Cl. Ind. Trid.*
Bruck, *ſeu* Pontanus Gregorius. 1. *Cl. Ind. Trid.*
Bruckerus Jacobus. Hiſtoria critica Philoſophiæ a mundi incunabulis ad noſtram uſque ætatem deducta. *Decr.* 28. *Julii* 1755., & 21. *Novembris* 1757.
Bruckſulbergius Georgius. Memoriale juridicum. *Vide* Manuductio.
Brullaughan Dominicus. Opuſculum de Miſſione, & Miſſionariis. *Decr.* 2. *Julii* 1737.
Brunfelſius, *ſeu* Brunsfelſius Otto. 1. *Cl. Ind. Trid.*
Brünings Chriſtianus. De Silentio ſacræ Scripturæ, ſive de iis, quæ in Verbo divino omiſſa ſunt, Libellus. *Decr.* 14. *Apr.* 1755.
Bruno Tobias. 1. *Cl. App. Ind. Trid.*
Brunſvicenſis Jacobus. 1. *Cl. App. Ind. Trid.*
—— Catecheſis puerilis. *Ind. Trid.*
Brunus Jordanus. *Opera omnia*. *Decr.* 7. *Aug.* 1603.
Bruodinus Antonius. Corolla Oecodomiæ Minoriticæ ſcholæ Salomonis, ſive pars altera Manualis Summæ totius Theologiæ. *Donec corrigatur*. *Decr.* 21. *Martii* 1668.
Bruſchius (Gaſpar) Egranus. 1. *Cl. Ind. Trid.*
—— Monaſteriorum Germaniæ præcipuorum, ac maxime illuſtrium Centuria prima, in qua origines, annales, ac celebriora monumenta recenſentur. *App. Ind. Trid.*
Bruſoni Girolamo. La Gondola a tre remi. *Decr.* 20. *Novemb.* 1663.
—— Il Carrozzino alla moda. *Decr.* 3. *Apr.* 1669.
Brutum fulmen Papæ Sixti V. adverſus Henricum Regem Navarræ, & Henricum Borbonium Principem Condæum, una cum Proteſtatione multiplicis nullitatis. *App. Ind. Trid.*
Brutus (Stephanus Junius) Celta. Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos: ſive de Principis in populum, populique in Principem legitima poteſtate. *Decr.* 14. *Novemb.* 1609.
Brylingerus Nicolaus. 1. *Cl. Ind. Trid.*

— Vi-

Fig. 18 Anthony Bruodin's *Corolla oecodomiae* in the Index librorum prohibitorum, 1758 (SK).

In the seventeenth century, German-speaking friars predominated in the Bohemian Franciscan province in terms of numbers and culture and, understandably, they also occupied the leading positions. This caused dissatisfaction among the Czech-speaking friars and, occasionally, they made attempts to gain greater influence, the first of which was in 1675 when they tried to push through a Czech candidate for the post of provincial. The leading representative of the Czechs, Engelbert Putomský, came under consideration, but he died in 1673. His place was taken by Anthony Bruodin; the question remains whether, as a member of a small and at that time oppressed nation, sympathy for the Czech friars on the defensive or his own ambition played a greater role. His rival for the post of provincial was also of high calibre, that is, it was Bernard Sannig, who made a great impression on the visitator, the Bavarian Franciscan, Fortunatus Huber (whose task was to check the state of the province and arrange the

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election of the provincial). Considering that Huber made no secret of his sympathies in the friaries he visited, Bruodin sent a written message to the Turnov friary, asking the guardian not to support Sannig's candidature during the visitation and to be as vague as the Prague guardian in expressing his opinion. By mistake, however, the message ended up in the visitator's hands. Huber took this as an illicit electoral machination, which in addition led to the suspicion that similar messages had also been received in other friaries, and relieved Bruodin of all functions, excluded him from all elections at the prepared provincial chapter and imposed a penance on him. Bruodin could not bear such humiliation; he preferred to request a discharge from the province. When he obtained it, at the end of May 1675, he withdrew to the Irish college, where he died during a plague in 1680.[63]

Bruodin's writings are outstanding. His first work was a two-volume textbook on Scotist theology, intended to be a continuation of the philosophical handbooks published by Bruodin's pupils, Vilém Antonín Brouček and Arnošt Schaff in 1663.[64] The first part of Bruodin's work was published towards the end of 1663, the second part in March 1664. Sousedík's evaluation was that it was a relatively modest textbook; in the preface, the author himself mentions that it was begun for practical reasons, so that his pupils would have a comprehensible printed handbook available. It was, however, the first work of Scotist theology printed in the Bohemian Crown Lands. The second volume was described as objectionable by the official Catholic censorship and changes were demanded.[65] From the viewpoint of cultural history, it is interesting, in part for the register of Bruodin's students from the Bohemian Franciscan province, printed in the preface to the second volume, and in part for the minor digressions in the text; for example, in the section on purgatory, he refers to the pilgrimages to St. Patrick's Purgatory in Ireland and, in the section on privileges, he refers to various functions within the Franciscan Order.[66]

In the years 1667 to 1668, Bruodin worked on his extensive *Propugnaculum catholicae veritatis*, which was published a year later (Fig. 19).[67] Of the planned ten books in two volumes, only half appeared, with the subtitle *pars historica.* Even so, this partially realised plan became "first-class propaganda" for the oppressed Catholic Church in Ireland. The work is dedicated to Václav, Jan, and Ignác, Counts of Šternberk, who, as Bruodin recounts in the preface, covered the cost of printing, and it is conceived with truly Baroque efficiency. The first book is on the concept of heresy and all heresies, not just from the beginning of Christianity, but right from the beginning of the world up to the end of the fifteenth century. It is noteworthy that Bruodin

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allotted four chapters to Hussitism. He was particularly concerned with John Huss and his adherents, and only dealt marginally with the subsequent movement.[68] Although he does not acknowledge his sources at all systematically, it is clear that he knew Pavel Stránský of Zhoř, with whom he argued over the etymological origin of the name Tábor.[69] The second section is dedicated to the Reformation of the fifteenth century on the European mainland, with a chapter on missions in India and America. Only in the third section does Bruodin reach England, Scotland and Ireland, firstly describing the advance of the Reformation beginning with the reign of Henry VIII. The closing comprehensive twentieth chapter is devoted to martyrs for the faith who suffered from 1535 until the beginning of the reign of Charles I in the lands under the sceptre of the King of England. Charles's reign, followed by revolution and the Cromwellian period, is described by Bruodin in the fourth section, ending with chapters on the Irish martyrs after the death of Charles I (literally "killed by rebels and regicides") and on the death of Patrick Fleming in Bohemia, as quoted above. The end of the chapter on the Irish, however, is also connected to Bohemia, if not to the Franciscans. The Jesuit John Meagh who had studied in Italy, was sent to the college in Kutná Hora in 1638 to prepare himself for missionary work in Ireland. The following year, he and two confrères were ordered to go to the college in Jindřichův Hradec by the Kutná Hora rector, through fear of the Swedish forces under Johan Banér, but on the way they were killed by enraged villagers on 31 May 1639. Their bodies were buried in Kutná Hora.[70] The fifth and final section concerns historical and contemporary Ireland; Bruodin appends to it a geneological survey of the O'Brien family, a list of the Irish kings and a list of the families of the Irish nobility.

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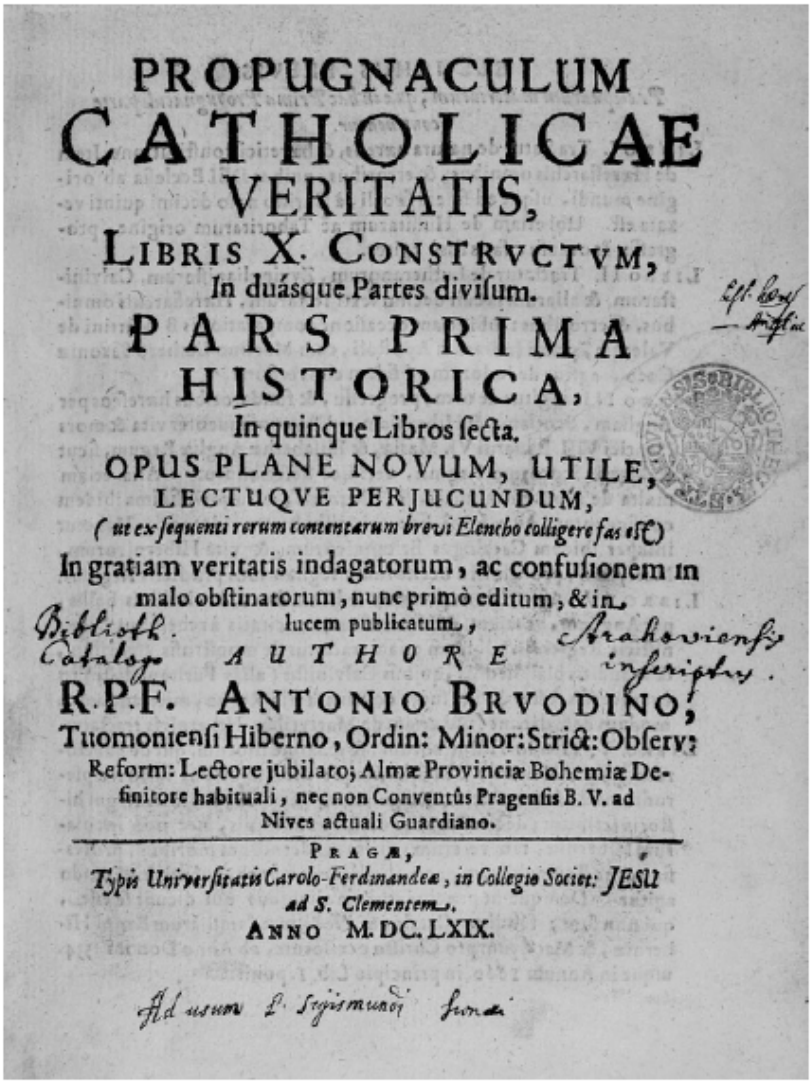
PROPUGNACULUM
CATHOLICAE
VERITATIS,
LIBRIS X. CONSTRVCTVM,
In duásque Partes divisum.
PARS PRIMA
HISTORICA,
In quinque Libros secta.
OPUS PLANE NOVUM, UTILE,
LECTUQVE PERJUCUNDUM,
(ut ex sequenti rerum contentarum brevi Elencho colligere fas est)
In gratiam veritatis indagatorum, ac confusionem in
malo obstinatorum, nunc primò editum, & in
lucem publicatum,
AUTHORE
R.P.F. ANTONIO BRVODINO,
Tuomonensi Hiberno, Ordin: Minor: Strict: Observ:
Reform: Lectore jubilato; Almæ Provinciæ Bohemiæ Definitore habituali, nec non Conventûs Pragensis B. V. ad
Nives actuali Guardiano.
PRAGÆ,
Typis Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandeæ, in Collegio Societ: JESU
ad S. Clementem.
ANNO M. DC. LXIX.

Fig. 19 The title page of *Propugnaculum catholicae veritatis* by Anthony Bruodin. Prague, 1669 (SK).

Bruodin was criticised for a number of errors, even by his contemporaries. In 1670, a work by Thomas Carve was published entitled *Enchiridion apologeticum contra sordidorum mendaciorum faraginem R. P. Antonii Bruodini* (*An Apologetical Handbook against the Farrago of Sordid Mendacities of the Reverend Father Anthony Bruodin*). It was not, however, simply a reaction to the factual inaccuracies, which could be explained by the fact that Bruodin had left Ireland in about his twenties and that his information on his contemporaries was inadequate, or at best second-hand. There was more to it than that. Behind it lay the antipathy of the old Irish (including Bruodin) towards the Anglo-Irish, the differing opinion of these groups on Irish history and the nuances in their conception of it, and with what kind of treatment and with what legitimacy this history was presented. It also related to their view of the Irish bards, their fabulation and their way of portraying important events, a natural component of national culture, although difficult to translate into Central European terms.

In *Propugnaculum*, in the chapter entitled *De Carve, seu Carrani erroribus et imposturis* (*On Carve's or Carran's Errors and Impostures*), Bruodin replied to Carve's *Itinerarium*,

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published in three volumes in the years 1639 to 1646, and to his work *Lyra hibernica*, first published in 1666. He questions not only Carve's distorted conception of Irish history (the assertion in *Itinerarium* that the Irish became civilised through contact and trade with the English must have seemed particularly abhorrent), but also the author's character and the reasons for his departure from Ireland. A response might have been expected, but no preserved copy of the above-mentioned *Enchiridion* has yet been found (its title is known from *Anatomicum examen*). In 1671, Cornelius O'Mollony replied to *Enchiridion* in his *Anatomy examination* (*Anatomicum examen, inchiridii apologetici . . . quo Carrani imposturae, et calumniae religiose refutantur*), published by the Jesuit printing house in Prague. Millett justifiably considers the otherwise unknown O'Mollony to be Bruodin's pseudonym. For that matter, the writer was exposed by Carve himself, for whom his opponent's choice of pseudonym was clear, Bruodin's mother being named O'Mollony. O'Mollony-Bruodin reproached Carve for his poor Latin and the surreptitiousness of what he had done (according to the introduction to *Examen*, Carve's work had been published without it being stated where and by whom it had been printed). Of course, Bruodin also strived to refute, step by step, each of his opponent's assertions and defended himself, which gives today's reader the chance to reconstruct the contents of *Enchiridion*; at the same time, Bruodin appended a list of Irish martyrs, which he had not included in *Propugnaculum.* Carve had the last word in the dispute in 1672, when he published in Sulzbach his *Responsio veridica ad illotum libellum cui nomen anatomicum examen* (*The True Answer to the Foul Volume Entitled Anatomicum Examen*).[71]

The core of the dispute was the false picture of Ireland as outlined by Carve. This, however, was quickly lost in the writers' accusations and counter-accusations. Carve himself, despite his prejudices and his lack of critical feeling in relation to ancient Irish history, wrote well and objectively about events in contemporary Europe. *Itinerarium* originated, so to speak, in the midst of battles and the author was clearly not too concerned with remote academic questions; in his later disputes with Bruodin he did not even try so much to defend his conception as to inveigh against his opponent. He had quite enough opportunities to do this, beginning with his family. Not only did he ridicule the possessions and seat of the Bruodins (described in *Anatomicum examen*), but he also ridiculed the head of the family, the bard Thaddeus Bruodin (Tadhg MacDaire MacBrody), whose sad end he had seen with his own eyes. The inspiration of the family, the imagination and fabulation of the bards were very clear to Carve from *Propugnaculum*; he found them in the passages on Irish saints and martyrs, many of whom had been "canonised" by Bruodin, and he generally wrote very ironically about the bards. His

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criticism of Bruodin's superficiality was not without foundation; it is possible to observe the boldness with which Bruodin launches into Czech etymology. This rift, at least in the form it took, would clearly not have happened in the first half of the seventeenth century when figures such as Luke Wadding managed to keep the innate outspokenness and vehemence of his fellow-countrymen in check.[72]

Fig. 20 *Armamentarium theologicum* by Anthony Bruodin, the title page. Prague, 1676 (SK).

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In the same year as *Propugnaculum*, Bruodin published his minor work on the Spanish Franciscan Pedro de Alcántara who was proclaimed a saint in 1669.[73] Anthony Bruodin was then silent for several years. Apart from the dispute with the critic of *Propugnaculum*, his functions clearly occupied his time and clearly a temporary lack of access to the necessary literature was also a reason (most probably in Hostinné and on visitation journeys). His final work, *Armamentarium theologicum*, which perhaps in part arose because he was forced into seclusion, remained unfinished (Fig. 20).[74] In a remarkable preface to this work, undoubtedly in an attempt to defend himself against his opponents, he describes his work in the Bohemian province and his introduction of Scotist philosophy and theology to the Bohemian Crown Lands. In losing Bruodin, the Irish Franciscan community and at the same time the Bohemian province lost a significant figure. Although his theological works were never more than school compendiums, their publication was pioneering. What is indisputable is Bruodin's importance in acquainting the educated public with the history of Ireland and events in that country.

THE CHURCH BY THE POWDER GATE

One of the reasons for the attempt to found a friary in Namslav was the inadequate capacity of the college in Prague, a problem which the friars suffered from in later years as well. It was not, however, always caused by a flood of young newcomers. The repression in Ireland in the early 1650s certainly forced a greater number of the religious into emigration, while at the same time deterring the young from entering friaries there, which as a result meant a reduction in the number of students coming to the colleges in mainland Europe to be prepared for missionary work. The inadequacy was only felt some years later. In May 1658, at the request of the guardians of the colleges in Prague, Louvain and Paris, it was submitted to the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars that they be permitted to accept novices after a period of one year. Only in 1667 did the general of the order, Ildefonso Salizanes, grant the Prague college in perpetuity the right to accept novices, together with the right for the guardian to issue friars with the permission necessary to receive ordination.[75] Also, only Irishmen could be accepted into the novitiate.[76]

The beginning of the 1650s saw the continued development of the Prague college. On 15 August 1652, in the presence of Ferdinand III, the foundation stone of the new Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary was laid. The ceremony performed in the presence

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of Archbishop Harrach and the relic of St. Patrick was embedded in the church's substructure.[77] As late as 1949, the plaque commemorating this event was photographed in the former church (Fig. 21).[78] The building was apparently designed by Carlo Lurago. The community was so poor that work on the costly construction had to be stopped just the following spring, so the Irish Franciscans turned to the Emperor with a request for financial assistance, and were granted 2,000 florins. After a year, however, further problems occurred: after the foundations had been laid and the pillars erected, it turned out that the width of the church was slightly greater than its length. The Irish Franciscans tried to obtain permission from the city council to move the façade of the church onto ground belonging to the city, but without success.[79] It is possible that the opposition they met with persuaded them to appeal to Ferdinand III for Imperial protection against all opponents of their foundation. The document in which the sovereign took the Irish under his protection was promulgated on 4 November 1654.[80] From then on, they counted on the support of the ruling house in carrying out the construction, as is apparent from their requests for wood from the Třeboň estate in late 1656 and early 1657. It is, however, understandable that money for the construction of the church must also have come from sources other than the Emperor's charity and almsgiving. It may not, perhaps, have been so much, but over the years they succeeded in having several restrictions regarding this removed from the foundation charter. In January 1652, with the support of influential patrons, Ferdinand III confirmed all their privileges and, in addition, extended them somewhat. That is, the clause was removed from the foundation charter which stated that friars were not to be accepted into the college unless they were provided with sufficient means of support (this measure benefitted friars forced to flee Ireland as a result of oppression) and permission to collect alms anywhere in the Kingdom of Bohemia, with the exception of Prague, was reconfirmed.[81] This limiting clause in the foundation charter of Ferdinand II, intended to protect the local mendicant orders, was only abolished on 5 April 1659, by Leopold I in a decree which permitted the Irish Franciscans to collect alms in Prague as well.[82] By the end of 1661, construction of the church was more or less completed. According to Archbishop Harrach's diaries, Mass was read in the new church for the first time on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception that year.[83]

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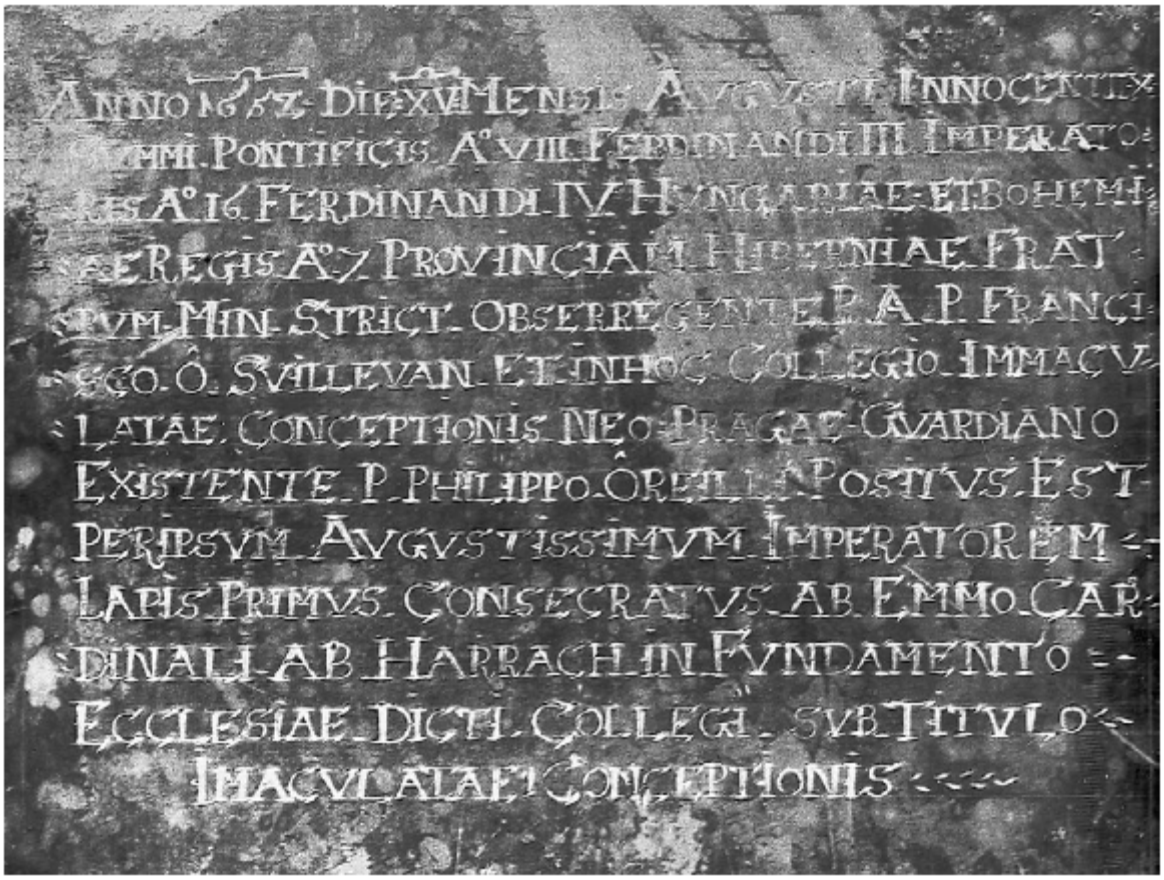

Fig. 21 A panel with a memorial inscription about laying the foundation stone of the Irish Franciscan church (NPÚ).

Private individuals continued to be important patrons. The first who should be mentioned is Walter Buttler, whose bequest, like those of the other soldiers involved in the Valdštejn murder, was discussed in Chapter 2. Likewise, through the bequest of Gerhard, Baronet of Wachtendung, the Irish Franciscans received, in addition to 2,000 florins for the funeral, 13,000 florins after the sale of real estate and the subsequent settling of the deceased's debts. There was also Ferdinand Leopold Benno, Count of Martinice, at whose expense the high altar in the church was created. The connection between this Bohemian nobleman and the college can be found most probably in the person of his chaplain, Molloy, also mentioned above. Count of Martinice, provost of the Vyšehrad Chapter house, inherited from his father, Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice, outstanding debts which he passed on to the Irish Franciscans. The Royal Chamber, however, decided that the greater part of the capital should remain within the donor's family and thereby prevented the creation of a damaging precedent, which would have made it possible to give such gifts to the Irish Franciscans. In March 1658, in connection with the Count of Martinice's donation, Emperor Leopold I permitted the lesser part of the capital to be passed on to the Franciscans and for them to be paid a commission from the Royal estates to this account. The Franciscans used the donations not only for the construction of the church but also for

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securing the community's means of living. In 1659, for example, they appealed for iron to make the windows of the church, and in 1661, on the intervention of the Emperor, they were paid 300 florins. In the period 1658 to 1666, they received gifts amounting to 4,147 florins 20 kreutzer from the Count of Martinice.[84] He also showed goodwill towards individuals of Irish nationality; in 1659, he provided for the meals of a "high-born Irishman" in Žitenice (this was probably a member of the clergy), but he considered his liberality towards the Irish college to have been finished in his lifetime and it was not remembered in his will, despite substantial bequests to other monastic institutions.

Other bequests were smaller and more often concerned the furnishings of the church. It was often the case that the deceased wished to be buried in the college. Jan of Talmberk left 1,100 florins for the building of the church, but it was, as in other instances, apparently a long time before the bequest was released.[85] Another bequest was made by Anna Marie Golčová. Although Don Martin de Hoff-Huerta left the college as much as 7,000 florins, the bequest was in practice unclaimable, as became evident during a hearing at the archbishop's consistory in April 1641. De Hoff-Huerta's wife, the executor of the will, fulfilled her husband's last wishes only in small part, by having a lamp made for the church. The Irish Franciscans were not the only ones to suffer; the Discalced Carmelites were also adversely affected in this way. They turned to the Emperor for help over the settlement of the will, but he referred them to the support of the relevant officials.[86] Hammerschmid presents interesting details on how construction progressed: a certain Šimon Bohuslav Morávek bequeathed the Irish Franciscans 100 florins for the construction of the tower which was added to the church later; in 1672, the friars raised another contribution towards its construction at the Royal Chamber. Building surveys show that it was mainly made of wood, because its siting is not reflected in the ground plan of the construction.[87]

Johann Anton, Count Losy of Losinthal, contributed to the costs of refurbishing the high altar, as well as ordering the picture *The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary* from Karel Škréta. In connection with this, Hammerschmid mentions that the count donated 100 florins, while the remainder was raised by collecting special alms around Prague.[88] He also had the Chapel of St. Anthony built and apparently decorated it with a picture by Škréta. If we step outside the time frame of this chapter, we can present a picture of the entire internal arrangement of the church as it was described in the second decade of the eighteenth century. On the gospel side of the high altar was a side altar (Franz Anton, Count Sporck had this built)

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and on the same side was the Altar of the Virgin Mary of Neukirchen, "of the Holy Blood," paid for by Vilém Václav, Baronet Michna of Vacínov.[89] By the entrance to the sacristy were the Altar and Chapel of St. Francis with more pictures by Karel Škréta (*The Baptism of Christ* and *The Conversion of St. Paul*) which had been donated by Jan Norbert, Count of Šternberk, and his brothers, Ignác Karel and Václav Vojtěch. Then there was the Altar and Chapel of St. John of Capistrano with stucco decoration (paid for by General de la Crone) and the Chapel of the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora, financed by Maria Mechtilde de Dieten, née de Bois.[90] Finally, on the gospel side, there was the Chapel of St. Patrick, to which the stuccoist, Cometa,[91] contributed, while its completion was funded by the provisor of the archiepiscopal seminary, Jiří Kryštof Hájek, who was buried here. The cult of St. Patrick, who was rather exotic for Bohemia, did not spread at all in Prague in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless, every year on his saint's day, the Irish Franciscans would invite a famous preacher, whose sermon was presumably limited to those who knew Latin. Apparently, the Fraternity of St. Patrick, which gained papal confirmation in March 1656, gathered at this very altar, or was supposed to have gathered there. That is, however, the only proof yet found of its existence and, because its promulgation need not necessarily mean that the sodality actually existed, it is possible that either the fraternity was not established at all, or that it came to an end after a short time without leaving any identifiable traces.[92] When the college was dissolved, there was a picture of St. Patrick by František Xaver Palko[93] on the altar.

On the opposite side, the epistle side, was an altar dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (paid for by Jobst of Schwartzenwolf), the above-mentioned Chapel of St. Anthony, the Chapel of St. Isidore which was contributed to by one of the Lurago family of builders, then the Chapel of St. Thomas of Villanova, paid for by Count Černín of Chudenice, and lastly the Chapel of St. Wenceslas, financed by Ferdinand Christoph of Scheidlern. To the right of the entrance to the church was the Chapel of All the Faithful Departed, but because no patron for this was found, it remained untended and unfinished. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the development of the church's interior was clearly complete in its main features. The inventory of the church's valuables, which originated after its dissolution, specifically mentions some of the altars: the Altar of the Virgin Mary of "the Holy Blood," the Altar of St. Francis, the Altar of the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora on which was a little crown and children's clothing on a copy of a graceful statue, the Altar of St. Thomas of Villanova with an unspecified picture of Mary, and the Altar of St. Patrick. The only new addition was the Altar of St. Joseph.[94]

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Nevertheless, a description of the church interior from the period of abolition of the college varies in details. The main altar apparently had no altar picture but, instead of this, a fresco was painted on the wall, with two large gilt statuaries of saints on either side. On the gospel side, the above-mentioned sequence of altars continued; after St. Patrick's altar, that of St. John of Nepomuk was added with a statue of the saint (probably installed after his canonisation, i.e. after 1729), a small Marian picture and one of Salvator, as well as an altar of the Crucifixion with miniature Marian pictures. In the eighteenth century, the altar of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus was placed on the epistle side between the chapels of St. Anthony and St. Isidore. St. Walpurga's altar with a sculpture of the saint and St. Joseph's altar were placed after St. Wenceslas's altar and before the chapel of All Faithful Departed. The aforementioned description also lists other pictures and their locations in the church. Apart from several non-specific Marian paintings, the church was decorated with the following pictures: *Ecce homo* at St. Francis's altar, the Holy Trinity at St. Patrick's altar, Mary Magdalene at St. Isidore's altar, St. Peter of Alcantara at St. Wenceslas's altar, St. Thecla at St. Walpurga's altar, and Judas Thaddaeus at St. Joseph's altar. The décor of the church documented the influence of old and new cults, Franciscan spirituality and patron saints of both nations together with the veneration of Marian pictures popular in Baroque Bohemia.[95]

Thanks to the art historical research in recent years and to the inventory discovered in the Prague City Archives by Radka Tibitanzlová, we can partially reconstruct what happened with the church furnishings. Two paintings by Karel Škréta have been preserved. His *Baptism of Christ* is owned by the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, *St. Paul's Conversion* is in the Archdiocesan Museum in Olomouc.[96] *The Crucifixion* was probably first installed in the chapel of All Faithful Departed and then moved with other altars to the Church of Levín near Litoměřice. This church was later damaged by several fires and the catalogues available do not provide any information about other items from the Irish Franciscan college. A picture which was recently discovered in the Church of Nativity of St. John the Baptist in Čížkov near Plzeň was identified as St. Anthony of Padua.[97] Karel Škréta Jr., was commissioned to paint an altar picture for the St. Francis Chapel, but only a drawing, perhaps a draft by Karel Škréta Sr., (now in the National Gallery in Prague), has been preserved. Another of Karel Škréta Jr.'s planned works was the *Stigmatisation of St. Francis* and a picture with a Trinity motive, the *Descent of the Holy Spirit.* On the basis of a fragment which has been preserved to this day, wall paintings in the St. Francis Chapel can be ascribed to Giacomo Tencalla.[98] A contemporary of Karel Škréta Sr., was Matěj Zimprecht. Today we know about his picture of the *Holy Family with St.*

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Anne (now in the possession of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star). His painting of the visitation disappeared before the middle of the nineteenth century but a drawing of this from 1814 has been preserved.

Part of the church interior was taken to the depositary in the former Barnabite college, St. Benedict Church in Hradčany, that was handed over to Carmelite nuns in 1791. Despite being formally abolished, their community survived reforms by Emperor Joseph II and after his death and suspension of some of his decrees, it was allowed to continue to exist. According to their chronicle, the Carmelite nuns kept the following items from the former Irish Franciscan furnishings in their church: the tabernacle, altar stone and three oak steps from the main altar, a marble balustrade, before which communicants used to kneel, kneelers, two confessionals, a marble lavabo for the refectory, fourteen pictures of Stations of the Cross to be hung in the lower corridor, a picture of St. Joseph, now sometimes ascribed to Jan Petr Molitor (1702–1757), [99] sacristy furnishing, high-quality chasubles and an altar cloth.[100] This list is almost identical to one found in the Archives of Prague archbishopric.[101] The organ from the Irish Franciscan church still remains in St. Benedict Church to this day.

Apart from the above-mentioned churches in Levín and Čížkov, the rest of the mobiliary from the former Church of the Immaculate Conception was disseminated to the churches in Pyšely (south of Prague), Hostivař (now a part of Prague), Lobendava (near Děčín) and Nezabudice (near Rakovník). In the last location, two items from the Irish Franciscans are to be found in St. Lawrence Church: a Rococo pulpit and Altar of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus. The provenance of the latter is not known.[102] We expect further searches of churches and research in archival documents to lead to the discovery and accurate identification of other items of the mobiliary.

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1 Hugo Teiser, *Panegyricus factus aeternae memoriae . . . sanctissimi Patricii. . .*, Pragae 1637.

2 Perelcius's lectures in moral theology have been preserved in SK, MS DA V 33. They were recorded by the Strahov Premonstratensian Cyril Hofmann. Perelcius's notes from the lectures by Charles Grobendonque *Aristotelis Stagiritae philosophia rationalis* are under DD VI 33, and the Olomouc lectures by Martin Eismann under DA V 20 and DE VI 42. He defended his thesis in philosophy "pro doctoratu philosophico" in Olomouc 18 August 1634, under the chairmanship of Théodore Moret, see SK, CZ IV 40/b.

3 For the record of Moret's lectures *Tractatus in libros Aristotelis . . . de generatione et corruptione*, see SK, MS DG VI 38, Bohumil Ryba, *Soupis rukopisů Strahovské knihovny. Díl III* [*An Inventory of the Manuscripts of*

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the Strahov Library. Vol III] (Praha: Památník národního písemnictví, 1979), no. 1815. Theological lectures by Francis Farrell attended by Teiser as late as the first days of 1638 have been preserved under shelf mark DD VI 19. Teiser was ordained priest in December 1637.

4 Hedvika Kuchařová, "Premonstrátská kolej Norbertinum v Praze 1637–1785" [The Norbertinum College of the Premonstratensians in Prague 1637–1785], *BS* 3 (1997): 15–57, there on pp. 21–23. The author recapitulated the topic in a broader context in her monography *Premonstrátská kolej Norbertinum v Praze. Alternativy univerzitního vzdělání v 17. a 18. století* [*The Norbertinum College of the Premonstratensians in Prague. Alternative forms of university education in the 17th and 18th centuries*] (Praha: Casablanca, 2011) 78–90.

5 Philibert Panhölzl ed., "Statuta capitulorum provincialium Ord. Cist. vicriatus Bohemiae-Moraviae-Lusatiae (1616–1784)," *Cistercienser Chronik* 22 (1906): 106; V. Bartůněk, "Jan Greifenfels z Pilsenburku, opat zbraslavský" [Johann Greifenfels of Pilsenburg, Abbot of Zbraslav], *ČKD* 84.4, 5 and 6 (1944): 217–229, 284–291 and mainly 321–354.

6 Milada Vilímková and Pavel Preiss, *Ve znamení břevna a růží* [*In the Name of the Beam and the Roses*] (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1989). On the state of the Břevnov monastery, see pp. 53–54, on Broumov p. 57, on other monasteries pp. 130–139.

7 For instance, in the Friary of Our Lady of the Snows, philosophy and theology was taught from 1617, though the lectors were from abroad. Studies were developed further in the 1640s and 1650s; at that time, the development was supported by the Irish from the College of the Immaculate Conception. See Klemens Minařík, "Provinciál P. Bernard Sannig, učenec, spisovatel a organisátor františkánské provincie. (1637–1704)" [The Provincial Fr. Bernard Sannig, Scholar, Writer and Organiser of the Franciscan Province. (1637–1704)], *ČKD* 61 (1920): 237.

8 In 1622, Charles University in Prague, "guilty of heresy," was passed to the administration of the Jesuits who planned to reform it according to the custom of the order. They, however, met with the resistance of the Archbishop of Prague, the chancellor of the university, who in 1627 even enforced a ban on graduations; while Jesuits graduated their own students in accordance with the privileges of the order, the students of secular faculties left without graduating. The Emperor tried to solve the untenable situation in 1638 by again taking the Carolinum (the Faculties of Law and Medicine) away from the Jesuits and putting them under an appointed official called the Protector. The situation was resolved only by the decree of union in 1654. For the latest literature on the topic, see I. Čornejová ed., *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy II, 1622–1802* [*The History of Charles University II, 1622–1802*] (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1996) 23–57 or, in more detail, Ivana Čornejová, *Kapitoly z dějin pražské univerzity, 1622–1754* [*Chapters from the History of Prague University, 1622–1754*] (Praha: Karolinum, 1992). The figure of Cardinal Harrach was studied in detail by Alessandro Catalano in *Zápas o svědomí. Kardinál Arnošt Vojtěch z Harrachu (1598–1667) a protireformace v Čechách*, trans. Petr Maťa (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2008). On the foundation of the seminary, see pp. 178–181.

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9 In September 1633, the guardian of St. Anthony's College in Louvain sent four friars to Prague to study, namely Fr. Peter Molloy, Fr. Louis MacNamie, Fr. Peter Frame and Br. Donat Connolly. ŘHyb Praha, carton no. 45. On the literary activity of Patrick Fleming, see Benignus Millett, *The Irish Franciscans 1651–1665* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1964) 492–493. See also notes nos. 70 and 71 in Chapter 2.

10 See the list of friars at the end of this book.

11 Katrin Keller and Alessandro Catalano eds., *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598–1667)* (Wien: Böhlau, 2011), Band 4, 467 and 484. Theological disputations took place at examinations and sometimes also on special occasions such as visits to the seminary; the latter were referred to as ceremonial disputations.

12 Ibid., Band 3, 791.

13 Ibid., Band 6, 397 and Band 4, 278.

14 Ibid., Band 2, 200–1.

15 NA, ŘHyb Praha, carton no. 45.

16 However, in the petition written together with the rector of the archiepiscopal seminary, Jiří Peischel, around 1638 (definitely before 1641), Fallon is listed as guardian. NA, APA, carton no. 2014.

17 Stanislav Sousedík, *Filosofie v českých zemích mezi středověkem a osvícenstvím* [*Philosophy in the Bohemian Crown Lands between the Middle Ages and the Enlightenment*] (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1997) 104–107. The topic was also dealt with by Lucian Ceyssens, "Florence Conry, Hugh de Burgo, Luke Wadding, and Jansenism," *Father Luke Wadding* (Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds, 1957) 295–404.

18 Antonín Rezek, *Tak zvaná "Idea gubernationis ecclesiasticae" z časů kardinála Harracha* [*The so-called "Idea gubernationis ecclesiasticae" from the Time of Cardinal Harrach*] (Praha: Královská česká společnost nauk, 1893).

19 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 43–45.

20 The question is whether he was identical with the lay brother, John Barnavall, who was sent to Prague in July 1635. NA, ŘHyb Praha, carton no. 45, no. 19. Francis Harold became the order's annalist. The stock of the former library of the Franciscan friary in Hájek includes the preserved *De oculo morali aureus libellus Ioannis Gualensis*, published by Luke Wadding in Viterbo 1656, which Harold (Haraldus) donated to an unknown recipient in St. Isidore's College in Rome in the same year. However, how the book appeared in Hájek is not clear. The books from the stock are now stored in the Strahov library.

21 This name is included in the list of confessors from around 1656 whom the guardian of the college was able to supply to the consistory for missionary purposes. However, it is more probable that this Patrick Warde, who spoke German, was the second of the friars of this name, listed as "the Younger" make a distinction, appearing in the lists published by Millett in 1650/1651 as a student of theology and later as a lector in philosophy. NA, APA, carton no. 2100. See Benignus Millett, "Some lists of Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1656–1791," *Collectanea hibernica* 36–37 (1994–5): 61–62.

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22 For an accompanying letter for Francis Warde and Br. Francis Ravell dated 28.9.1649, see NA, AZK, carton no. 45. Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 135–137, notes nos. 6 and 8.

23 See the list from 1697. There he is described as "a zealous restorer of the local studies." Permanent theological studies were established at Our Lady of the Snows in 1647 based on the initiative of the provincial, Ludwig Gesner. See Minařík, "Provinciál P. Bernard Sannig," 237. Also Bruodin, *Armamentarium theologicum*, see note no. 63.

24 In sources available to us, his activities in the archiepiscopal seminary are evidenced for 1646 and 1648, as guardian for 1641 and 1642 (NA, ŘHyb Praha, carton no. 45, no. 36).

25 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 493.

26 Bernadette Cunningham, "The Louvain achievement I: the Annals of the Four Masters," *The Irish Franciscans 1534–1990*, eds. E. Bhreathnach, H. MacMahon, OFM and J. McCafferty (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009) 177–188.

27 Pádraig Ó Riain, "The Louvain achievement II: hagiography," *The Irish Franciscans 1534–1990*, 189–200.

28 M.W.F. Stone, "The theological and philosophical accomplishments of the Irish Franciscans: from Flaithrí Ó Maoil Chonaire to Bonaventure Baron," *The Irish Franciscans 1534–1990*, 201–220.

29 Mícheál MacCraith and David Worthington, "Aspects of the literary activity of the Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1620–1786," *Irish Migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602–1820*, eds. T. Connor and M.A. Lyons (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003) 118–134.

30 In 1642, it had thirty members, at the turn of 1650/1651, forty-four, and three years later, fifty-one. See Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 135–136. The note, probably from 1653, that there were sixty brothers in the college and that more were expected seems slightly exaggerated, see NA, ŘHyb Praha, carton no. 45, no. 60.

31 The teaching in the archiepiscopal seminary was interrupted in spring 1639 due to concerns about the invasion of Bohemia by Banér's troops, and because a hospital was later established in the building, the interruption lasted till the following year. In November 1641, a dispute between Archbishop Harrach and the Emperor about the character of the seminary culminated. In 1638, the archbishop obtained a papal bull for the seminary, which gave it powers corresponding to the university type of study. The last interruption was the war intermezzo during 1648 and 1649.

32 ÖSW, FA Harrach, carton nos. 177 and 179 (further).

33 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 117–118.

34 The commissary general of the order proposed in October 1648 that Clancy remain in office as guardian until the chapter of the Irish province decided otherwise. For a copy of Daniel a Dongo's decision dated 25.2.1650, see ÖSW, FA Harrach, carton no. 177. For the year 1648, see *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Band 1, 124–125, 128.

35 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 156–157.

36 SK, MS DJ IV 1, *Anály Norbertina I*. [*The Annals of Norbertinum I*], f. 78.

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37 Mícheál MacCraith, “Gaelic language links with Prague,” a lecture delivered at the conference entitled “The Irish in Europe 1580–1850,” Maynooth 2000.

38 For the appointment of John Colgan, the commissary for the colleges in Prague, Louvain and Wieluń, see the section “The Irish province of Franciscans.” Colgan was forced to resign in 1652. In as much as the function of the commissary ceased to exist, his powers over the colleges were transferred from 1662 to the order’s commissary for Upper Germany.

39 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 159–161. SK, MS DJ IV 1, f. 80.

40 Kuchařová, “Premonstrátská kolej Norbertinum v Praze,” 29.

41 SK, MS DJ IV 1, ff. 81–82. Due to gaps in her knowledge of the broader context, this interpretation was also adopted by H. Kuchařová in her work on the Norbertinum college.

42 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, see note 39. In January 1652, the guardian and discreets of the college said that it was not possible for two lectors to continue to teach in the archiepiscopal seminary without the permission of the superiors of their order without this being detrimental to the order. However, if the archbishop wished them to teach in the seminary, the college would not stand in their way. ÖSW, FA Harrach carton no. 177. Catalano, *Zápas o svědomí*, 259–277.

43 From the academic year 1652–1653, philosophy was taught (however, in the Scotist spirit) by the Strahov Premonstratensian Vít Rössler, then in the following year by the Benedictine, Jan Manner, and in 1655 for the first time by Franciscans from Our Lady of the Snows. If it was an emergency solution, then it was in favour of those orders which were interested in the running of the seminary and wanted to fill the teaching posts with their own members.

44 NA, APA, carton no. 2100. A record in the Archbishop’s diary from 4 October 1659 reflects the situation. On that day, he participated in a celebration of St. Francis of Assisi’s Day in the Irish Franciscan college, while in other years he had regularly attended the Capuchines’ celebration. He perhaps wanted to demonstrate that he was not angered by some “differences” with the Irish Franciscans.

45 This may only have become possible after the end of O’Reilly’s guardianship; in 1655–1656, lectures in philosophy were delivered by Francis Fenell and then repeatedly in 1659–1660 together with Francis O’Beirne, see SK, MSS DG VI 36 and DG VI 8, and see Hedvika Kuchařová and Jan Pařez, “On the trail of Irish émigrés in the collections of the Strahov Abbey Library in Prague,” *The Ulster Earls and Baroque Europe. Refashioning Irish Identities, 1600–1800*, eds. Thomas O’Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010) 202.

46 In his letter of 3 November, the rector of the seminary, Jiří Meckenburger, informed Archbishop Harrach of this. Anthony Bruodin’s letter of 22 October 1659 to Archbishop Harrach is in ÖSW, FA Harrach, carton no. 177.

47 NA, APA, carton no. 2100.

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48 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 164. See AZK, carton no. 45, no. 86, where the appointment of Clancy as guardian by the provincial, Bernard Egan, is dated 1 April 1660. In his letter dated by Harrach to 1661, Bonaventure Bruodin requested at least a year's sick leave, which would enable him to travel home. ÖSW, FA Harrach, carton no. 177. For Cardinal Harrach's role as a mediator, see Catalano, *Zápas o svědomí*, 315–317.

49 NA, APA, carton no. 2100. According to the proposal by Basilius d'Aire dated 7 August 1659, the teachers should swear an oath to the archbishop that they would remain in the seminary for the requested period. According to Millett, Harrach was not overly excited by the return of the teachers, but the circumstances would, in any case, have forced him to replace Clancy and Bruodin.

50 Ibid., carton no. 2100. Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 164–165.

51 NA, ŘHyb Praha, carton no. 45, no. 91. The general of the Franciscan Order, Michaelangelo de Sambuca, confirmed the text of the statutes of the Prague college to Fr. Laurence Molloy on 7 October 1662. According to the notes in the manuscript of the statutes, they were (again) reviewed, confirmed and corrected by the general of the order in 1664, then authorised in the college on 4 September 1665.

52 NA, ŘF, book no. 13. That these articles applied to the teaching at the archiepiscopal seminary is supported by the finding that in the 1740s, when the statutes were reviewed, they were deleted as irrelevant. Millett is partially right that the general of the order did not want to exacerbate the situation with further regulations, especially when Harrach showed a certain concern about the upcoming confirmation.

53 Thanks to their activities in the archiepiscopal seminary, the intellectual influence of the Prague Irish Franciscans reached beyond the Bohemian Crown Lands because the Cistercian and Premonstratensian colleges were attended by students from various monasteries of central Europe. Direct evidence can be found, for instance, in the library of the Premonstratensian monastery in Geras in Austria where a manuscript of the lectures by Anthony Bruodin from 1656 (together with the bound thesis of Nicolaus Jacob Imann, catalogue no. 27) and the manuscript of the lectures by Louis O'Neill from 1689 to 1692 (catalogue no. 38) are stored. Gottfried Gröniger from Geras began studying in Prague in 1654. Joseph Natzer is listed in the Norbertinum, Premonstratensian college in Prague, in 1690. See Josef Pfiffig, "Handschriftenkatalog der Stiftsbibliothek Geras," *Geraser Hefte* 33 (1994): 5–23.

54 See *Quartum quod incedit*.

55 Theodore W. Moody and Francis X. Martin eds., *Dějiny Irska* [*The Course of Irish History*] (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 1996) 155.

56 Bonaventure Bruodin also taught at Our Lady of the Snows. See Kevin MacGrath, "The Bruodins in Bohemia," *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, 77 (1952): 341–343. 28 May is considered to be the anniversary of his death, see *Martyrologium Franciscanum* (Rome: Librarium Collegii S. Antonii, 1938) 197.

57 Anthony Farrell was sent to Prague in 1641, see NA, ŘHyb Praha, carton no. 45. Of the other Franciscans listed as teachers in *Quartum quod incedit*, the following can be mentioned in connection with this period: Daniel Bruoder, *lector jubilatus* and commissary visitator of the college, died 30.9.1687; Anthony Burke, *lector jubilatus* , guardian of the college and later provincial of the Irish province; Patrick Warde the Younger, *lector jubilatus*, died in 1678; Philip O'Reilly, *lector jubilatus*, guardian, died 26.5.1680 (not to be confused with his namesake,

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also a guardian; he is said to have been born around 1640); John Clancy, *lector jubilatus*, recorded in the seminary at the beginning of the 1670s, died 19.10.1680.

58 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 485. Because there were several men with the name of Bonaventure O' Connor, Millett successfully attempted to determine the author of this work.

59 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, Appendix 1.

60 He became lector in theology in the friary in Bethlehem. For period illustrations and descriptions, see, for example, Franciscus Caccia, *Jerusalem, seu Palestina nova*. . ., Wien 1706.

61 For more information about his origins, see below in the text.

62 MacGrath considers the claim that he was excluded from the province to be unreliable, nor was a more or less private dispute with Luke Wadding the reason.

63 For Anthony Bruodin's biographical data, apart from MacGrath, see also Stanislav Sousedík, *Jan Duns Scotus. Doctor subtilis a jeho čeští žáci* [John Duns Scotus. Doctor Subtilis and His Bohemian Pupils] (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1989) 167; the biographical data related to his candidature for the post of provincial is in Bruodin's introduction to his own work *Armamentarium theologicum*, Pragae 1767, also translated and published by Stanislav Sousedík in the cited work p. 325ff. The national circumstances in the province, the plans for its division and Bruodin's intervention against Sannig are discussed in detail in Minařík, "Provinciál P. Bernard Sannig," 144–150 and 197–201.

64 Vilém Antonín Brouček and Arnošt Schaff, *Domus sapientiae . . . ad mentem Joannis Duns Scoti complectens philosophiam*, Pragae 1663. From Bruodin's teaching activity in this period are the well-known theological thesis *Conclusiones theologicae ex primo sententiarum ad mentem . . . Joannis Duns Scotti*, copy in NK, MS 31 J 58, defended by Antonio de Venetiis in the friary in Jindřichův Hradec under Bruodin's chairmanship.

65 For example, it can be found in *Index librorum prohibitorum*, Romae 1758, 36, with reference to a decree of 21.3.1668. According to the note *donec corrigatur* [*until a correction is made*], these were probably less serious faults; no "amended" version, however, was published. It was not the only book by the Baroque theologian from the Bohemian environment that appeared in this somewhat demonised list: on page 126 of the same edition, there are two works by the Strahov abbot Hieronymus Hirnhaim.

66 Anthony Bruodin, *Oecodomia . . . Doctoris subtilis . . . hoc est: Universae theologiae scholasticae manualis summa*. . ., Pragae 1663; the same author, *Corolla oecodomiae . . . sive pars altera manualis summae totius theologiae speculativae*, Pragae 1664. For an evaluation of the work, see Sousedík, *Jan Duns Scotus*, 167–168.

67 Anthony Bruodin, *Propugnaculum catholicae veritatis. . . Pars prima historica*. . ., Pragae 1669. SK, BCh VIII 35.

68 According to Bruodin, Wycliffe's teaching was brought to Bohemia by the nobleman Peter Faulfisch, who was in Oxford (here, there is a clear confusion with Nicholas Faulfisch to whom primacy is not attributed in this respect). Huss's fondness for Wycliffe caused his disagreement with the German teachers and eventually

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(understandably for ethnic reasons) he convinced King Wenceslas to expel the German teachers and students from Prague (according to Bruodin 24,000!). Of the more important clergy, Jan, a renegade from Strahov monastery (a clear confusion with Jan Želivský) and Jerome of Prague adhered to Huss's teaching. It is followed by a list of Huss's mistakes according to the Articles of the Council of Constance and the progress of heresy in Bohemia (in accordance with Aeneas Silvius, from whom he probably drew, Bruodin considers Peter of Dresden to be the ideological originator of the lay chalice, thus making a double error, and Jakoubek of Stříbro is systematically called Jakoubek of Dresden), up until Huss's and Jerome's death. For Peter of Dresden, see František Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce II. Kořeny české reformace* [*The Hussite Revolution II. The Roots of the Czech Reformation*] (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1993) 58.

69 According to Bruodin, Stránský is lying if he claims that the name was not taken over from the name of the Palestinian biblical mountain and that it developed from the word "tábořiště" [camp] (in the original *castrum*). According to Bruodin, "castrum" is translated into Czech as "ležení" [camp] and those who belong to it are called "vojenští" [soldiers] (in the original *castrenses*); "tábor" [camp] is not even a Czech word. It would be better to use the expression "a sacred place" (in the original *fanum*), for which Bruodin gives the word "zbor" [*corps*]. Taborites would be then called "zborníci" [*corpsmen*]. See *Propugnaculum*, 110.

70 See Mathias Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans*. . ., Pragae 1675, 112–114. According to Tanner, Meagh's guides were called Martin Ignatius and Václav Trnoška.

71 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 245–246. Apart from this, Carve wrote a short work with the title of *Epitome rerum Germanicarum . . . ab Anno MDCXVII ad XLIII. gestarum*. . ., a critical new edition of which was published as late as 1760 in Leipzig. Unlike Bruodin's critique of Carve's Latin style, the editor praised *Epitome* as "graviter eleganterque scripta. . .". On Carve (Carew), see M. MacCraith and D. Worthington, "Aspects of the literary activity of the Irish Franciscans in Prague," 125–128, 130–131.

72 See a detailed analysis of the literary dispute between Bruodin and Carve written by Thomas Wall, "Bards and Bruodins," *Father Luke Wadding*, 438–462. According to Wall, Carve's *Enchiridion* was published in Nuremberg.

73 Anthony Bruodin, *Synopsis vitae, virtutum, et miraculorum S. Petri de Alcantara*, Pragae 1669. Humprecht Jan, Count Černín of Chudenice, to whom the book is dedicated, participated at that time in the decoration of the Church of Our Lady of the Snows – according to Bruodin's data, he donated a lamp worth 300 imperial florins.

74 Anthony Bruodin, *Armamentarium theologicum*, Pragae 1675–1676.

75 NA, ŘHyb Praha, carton no. 45, nos. 99 and 100. The privileges are dated 20.7.1667 in Madrid.

76 It was emphasised by the decree of the general of the order, Pietro Marini Sormani, of 24 March 1683 in which he forbad the Prague Irish Franciscans under penalty to accept Czechs or Germans as he had heard that the Irish Franciscans were accepting into the novitiate youngsters of Czech origin, which understandably harmed the Franciscans of the Bohemian province, see NA, ŘF, carton no. 22.

77 *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Band 6, 623.

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78 Today it bears a Latin inscription:

ANNO 1652 DIE XV MENSIS AVGVSTI INNOCENTII X, /
SVMMI PONTIFICIS A[NN]O VIII. FERDINANDI III. IMPERATO/
RIS A[NN]O 16. FERDINANDI IV. HVNGARIAE ET BOHEMI/
AE REGIS A[NN]O 7. PROVINCIAM HIBERNIAE FRAT/
RVM MIN[ORUM] STRICT[IORIS] OBSER[VANTIAE] REGENTE R[EVERENDO] A[DMODUM] P
[ATRE] FRANCI/
SCO # SVILLEVAN ET IN HOC COLLEGIO IMMACV/
LATAE CONCEPTIONIS NEO PRAGAE GVARDIANO/
EXISTENTE P[ATRE] PHILIPPO # REILLI POSITVS EST/
PERIPSVM AVGVSTISSIMVM IMPERATOREM/
LAPIS PRIMVS CONSECRATVS AB EM[INENTISSI]MO CAR/
DINALI AB HARRACH IN FVNDAMENTO/
ECCLESIAE DICTI COLLEGI [!] SVB TITVLO/
IMACVLATAE [!] CONCEPTIONIS.

"On the fifteenth day of the month of August, the year of 1652, in the eighth year of [the pontificate of] the noble sovereign pontiff Innocent X, in the sixteenth year of the reign of Emperor Ferdinand III and in the seventh year of King Ferdinand IV of Hungary and Bohemia, during the tenure in office of the honourable Father Francis O' Sullivan [Provincial] of the Irish Province of the Franciscan Order of the Stricter Observance and Father Philipp O'Reilly, the current guardian of the College of the Immaculate Conception in the New Town of Prague, the cornerstone was laid by the said noble emperor in the foundations of the church of the said college which bears the name of the Immaculate Conception, and was blessed by the noble Cardinal Harrach."

The photography is stored in Národní ústav památkově péče in Prague [The National Institute for the Preservation of Monuments], inv. no. 155.300. The unusual abbreviation R.A.P. in front of the name of Francis O' Sullivan could possibly be only an erroneously carved A.R.P.

79 On the construction of the church, see Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 139–141, also Růžena Baťková ed., *Umělecké památky Prahy. Nové Město, Vyšehrad, Vinohrady* [*The Artistic Monuments of Prague: New Town, Vyšehrad and Vinohrady*] (Praha: Academia, 1998) 189–191; ibid. on building development after the dissolution of the college. Jan Florian Hammerschmid, *Prodromus gloriae Pragenae*, Vetero-Pragae 1717, 302–303 lists in detail the patrons of the church. The consecration of the Immaculate Conception was based on the fact that the Franciscans (as well as the Jesuits) honoured this teaching even before its proclamation as dogma in the nineteenth century (unlike, for example, the Dominicans). For the Feast of the Immaculate Conception as well as for the Feast of St Patrick, ceremonial speakers were invited to the church. They included not only church dignitaries but also educated laymen. See Antonín Podlaha, "Učení o neposkvrněném početí Panny Marie v Čechách před prohlášením učení toho za dogma" [The Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary in Bohemia before the Declaration of Teaching as Dogma], *ČKD* 45.7–8, 9 (1904): 480–494 and 554–569. There is also a list of the sermons related to this topic delivered in Prague (mainly in Týn and at the Irish Franciscan college).

80 NA, L 2, ŘH sA, document no. 1224.

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81 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 143–144. The original of the document is in NA, L 2, ŘH sA, document no. 1223. In the early 1650s, the number of supporters and patrons of the college had decreased because the generation of Irish soldiers in the Imperial service who had been among their main supporters in the first decades of its existence was steadily dying off.

82 NA, L 2, ŘH sA, document no. 1226.

83 *Die Diarien und Tagzettel*, Band 7, 143.

84 Millett, *The Irish Franciscans*, 144–147. Here, on another bequest by Countess Dvořecká.

85 See NA, L 2, ŘH sA, document no. 1227. In 1662, Vilém of Talmberk handed over a promissory note of 1,000 florins to the Franciscans.

86 NA, APA, carton no. 2100. More than the unwillingness or greed of the heirs, the troubles they experienced after the death of Hoff-Huerta played a role. In 1638, his adoptive daughter and also heiress was forced to give up Písek and the Písek estate when she was threatened with the withdrawal of almost all her heritage, on the basis of proven dishonest machinations on the part of her adoptive father, see *Ottův slovník naučný. Díl 11* [*Otto's Encyclopedic Dictionary. Vol. 11*] (Praha: J. Otto, 1897) 840–841. On the August negotiations with the Emperor, see NA, SM, H 99/6. There is probably some truth in the claim made by Hammerschmid in *Prodromus gloriae Pragenae* that 7,000 florins were bequeathed to the college by Don Martinus Paradis, Hispanus.

87 See Baťková ed., *Umělecké památky Prahy*, see note no. 79. On the requests to the Bohemian Royal Chamber, see NA, NM, K2 H1.

88 Jaromír Neumann et al., *Karel Škréta 1610–1674. Katalog výstavy NG v Praze* [*Karel Škréta 1610–1674. Catalogue of the Exhibition in the National Gallery in Prague*] (Praha: Národní galerie, 1974) 200–221. According to the data given in František Ekert's *Posvátná místa král. hl. města Prahy. Svazek II* [*Sacred Places of the Royal Capital City of Prague. Vol. II*] (Praha: Dědictví sv. Jana Nepomuckého, 1884) 453, and mainly in Jan Bohumír Dlabač ed., *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien*. Vol. III (Prag: Stände Böhmens, 1815) columns 64–66, in the church there was later a fresco by Johann Ferdinand Schor (1686–1767), which was destroyed, according to Dlabač's testimony, in 1809.

89 There are two links with this Bavarian place of pilgrimage, also popular with pilgrims from the Bohemian Crown Lands: in Neukirchen, there was a Franciscan friary from 1657, from which the place of pilgimage was managed, and the Michna of Vacínov family were clearly amongst the local pilgrims and patrons. The unidentified Baronet Michna (possibly identical with Vilém Václav) had the organ in Neukirchen repaired in 1681. Walter Hartinger, "Neukirchen bei Heiligen Blut. Von der geflüchteten adonna zur Flüchtlingsmadonna," *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen. Themen zu einer Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalsmuseum und des Adalbert Stifter Vereins, München*, eds. Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck and Gerda Möhler (München: Schnell & Steiner, 1984) 411.

90 We deal with her last will in the section *The Irish Franciscans and the nobility*. Zimprecht's picture was probably placed here.

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91 Probably Giovanni Bartolomeo who died in 1687 and was buried in the church, as had been his son Innocenzo before him (died 1681). Prokop Toman, *Nový slovník československých výtvarných umělců. Díl I* [*The New Dictionary of Czechoslovakian Artists. Vol. I*] (Ostrava: Výtvarné centrum Chagall, 1993) 131.

92 Archivio segreto Vaticano, Sec. brev., Indulg. perpet., book 3, f. 57v. St. Patrick's Day was supposed to be the main feast day of the fraternity, then also St. Columba's Day, the day commemorating the stigmatisation of St. Francis, St. Didacus's Day and St. Brigid's Day. The document was issued on 3.3.1656. Generally on Baroque fraternities, see Jiří Mikulec, *Barokní náboženská bratrstva v Čechách* [*Religious Fraternities Baroque in Bohemia*] (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2000).

93 Jaroslav Schaller, *Beschreibung der . . . Residentzstadt Prag . . . Vierter . . . Band*, Prag 1797, 169 and Toman, *Nový slovník československých výtvarných umělců. Díl II.*, 239.

94 NA, ČG Publ, carton no. 2730.

95 NA, CSÚ, carton no. 293. The inventory was completed in August 1787.

96 For the most recent information about both paintings, see texts by Štěpán Vácha in *Karel Škréta 1610–1674. Doba a dílo* [*Karel Škréta 1610–1674. His Work and His Era*], eds. Lenka Stolárová and Vít Vlnas (Praha: Národní galerie, 2010) 136–139.

97 Radka Tibitanzlová and Štěpán Vácha, "Nově nalezené dílo Karla Škréty. Sv. Antonín Paduánský s Ježíškem a obrazová výzdoba kostela hybernů na Novém Městě pražském" [A Newly Discovered Painting by Karel Škréta: St Anthony of Padua with the Infant Jesus and the Painting Decorations in the Church of the Irish Franciscans in the New Town of Prague], *Umění* 62 (2014): 118–140.

98 Martin Mádl, "Kresba Stigmatizace sv. Františka z Assisi a Šternberská kaple v kostele pražských hybernů" [Drawing Stigmatisation of St Francis of Assisi and Šternberk chapel in the Irish Franciscan church in Prague], *Ars linearis II. Grafika a kresba českých zemí v evropských souvislostech*, ed. Alena Volrábová (Praha: Národní galerie, 2010) 58–65.

99 Pavel Vlček ed., *Umělecké památky Prahy. Pražský Hrad a Hradčany* [*Artistic monuments of Prague. Prague Castle and Hradčany*] (Praha: Academia, 2000) 131.

100 SK, MS without a shelf mark, *Chronic oder Geschichts-Verfassung Anderter Theil des Closters deren . . . baarfüssigen Carmeliterinen . . . in Prag*, 119.

101 NA, APA, C 141/2, *Inventáře předmětů ze zrušených klášterů a kostelů* [*Inventories of items from abolished religious institutes*], 18th century, document no. 3744, carton no. 2218. The authors would like to thank Radka Tibitanzlová for the transcription of the inventory.

102 The altar is dated 1758. See *Umělecké památky Čech. Díl II.* [*Artistic Monuments of Bohemia. Vol. II*], ed. Emanuel Poche (Praha: Academia, 1978) 473.

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